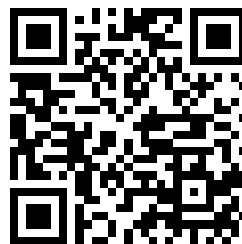

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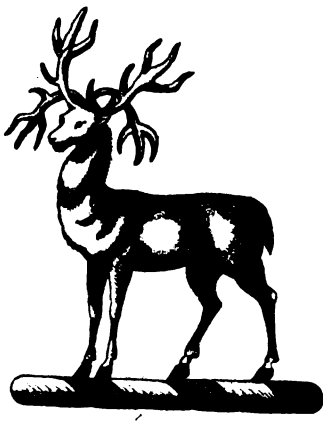
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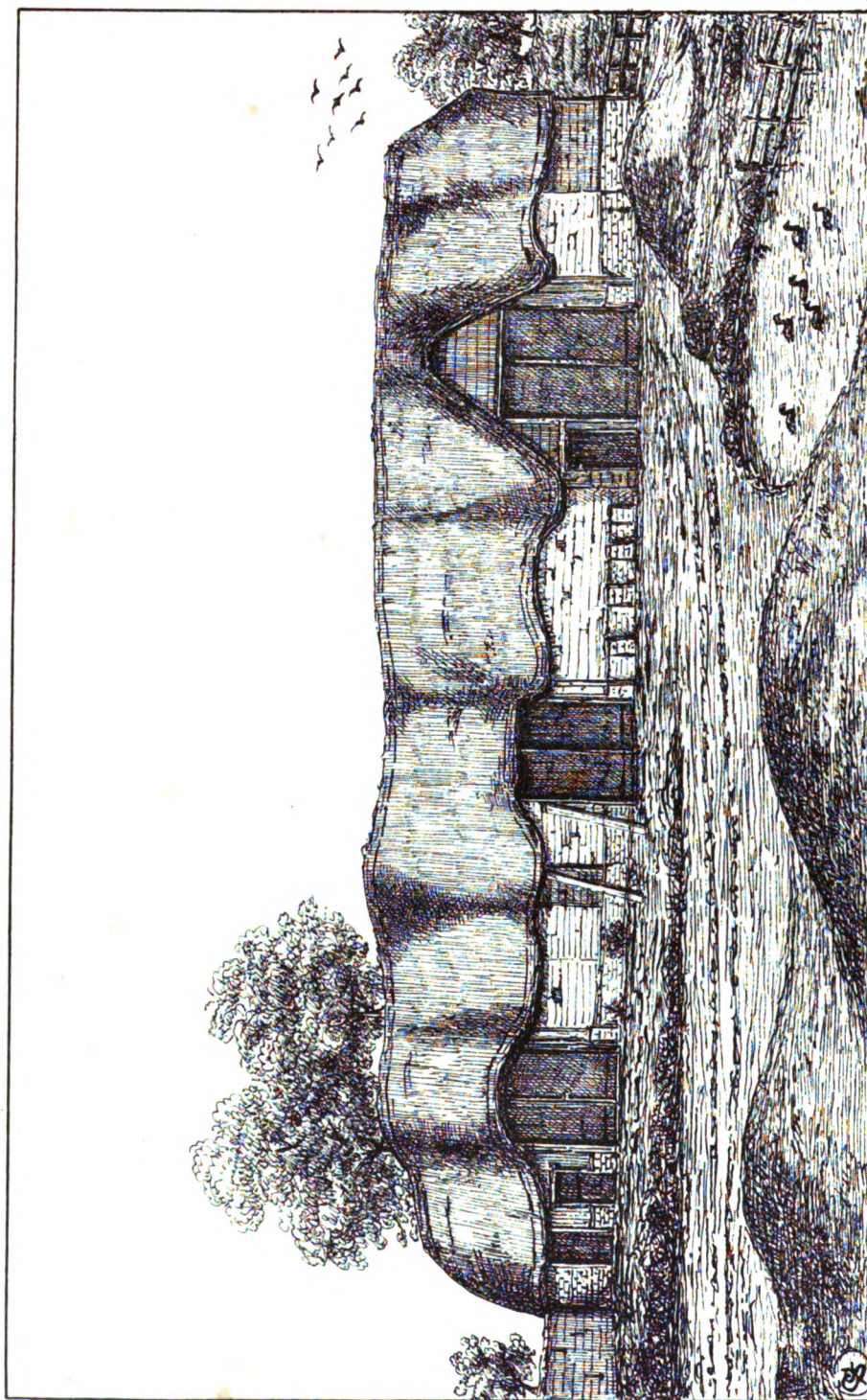
See also, by the same author —

"Charles Lord Stourton, and
the Murder of the Hartgills"
published 1864.

"Amye Robsart" published 1877.

"Francis, 5th Duke of Somerset".

1570/17



*Barn in which the Wedding Festivities were held, on the Marriage of King Henry VIII,
with Jane, daughter of Sir John Seymour, of Wulphall.*

*The Marchioness of Bath
must have
from the Author
May 21. 1875*

WULFHALL

AND

THE SEYMOURS.

WITH AN

Appendix of Original Documents discovered at

Longleat.

BY

REV. J. E. JACKSON, F.S.A.,

RECTOR OF LEIGH DELAMERE, WILTS,

AND

HON. CANON OF BRISTOL,

1874.

Privately Printed.

Wulfball and the Seymours.

By the Rev. Canon J. E. Jackson, F.S.A.

MY way of introduction to this paper,⁽¹⁾ I borrow from a very high authority, a few sentences that seem to describe with great accuracy, the particular kind of research that falls within the province of the Archæologist.

Lord Chancellor Bacon in his "Treatise on the Advancement of Learning," is speaking of *Civil History*. He says, "It is of three kinds, not unfitly to be compared with the three kinds of pictures or images; for of pictures or images, we see, some are *unfinished*, some are *perfect*, and some are *defaced*. So of Histories we may find three kinds; Memorials, Perfect histories and Antiquities; for Memorials are history unfinished, or the first rough drafts of history; and Antiquities are history defaced or some remnants of history which have casually escaped the shipwreck of time. Memorials, unfinished, are preparatory notes, to serve the compiler of the perfect history. Antiquities, or the remnants of history are, as was said, fragments from a wreck; when industrious persons, by an exact and scrupulous diligence and observation, out of monuments, names, words, proverbs, traditions, private records and evidences, fragments of stories, passages of books that concern not story, and the like, do save and recover somewhat from the deluge of time."

I do not remember to have ever met with a happier and more cheering description of our pursuits; for they now and then need refreshment. I mean by refreshment, the encouraging approval of thoughtful and intel-

(1) Read before the Wiltshire Archæological Society at Devizes, Tuesday September 8th, 1874, when the original documents from Longleat, out of which it was chiefly compiled, were exhibited by the kind permission of the Marquis of Bath.

lectual men. We are twitted, sometimes, with spending our time in raking into old rubbish, wearing out our eyes with decyphering faded handwriting, and the like: so it is well to be able to exhibit as an answer the deliberate judgment of so great a man as Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Albans, viz., that of the three branches of Civil History, "Antiquities" is one. Among obscure sources, he enumerates "Words,"—we all know how much attention has been of late years given to this subject; and how much curious history is often wrapped up in an old word. "Monuments,"—the great trial for the Shrewsbury Peerage is a proof of their importance, where so much often depends upon the preservation of an inscription. "Private Records and Evidences."—It is my very business this evening to endeavour to show you what they can do for us in the case of an Old Wiltshire Mansion House now no more, and its family, (old also, but still vigorous)
—WULFHALL and THE SEYMOURS.

The family of Seymour, Duke of Somerset, though the Title was taken from the neighbouring county, has been for centuries connected with our own. It fills a very exalted place in English History, for it is able to say what very few can say, that a single generation of brothers and sisters supplied a Queen of England, a Protector of the Realm, and a Husband to a Queen Dowager. Of course the public and political career of those distinguished personages is to be found in our English Histories, and the genealogical account of the family in Books of the Peerage; but there are some smaller and more private matters, relating to themselves, in connection with our neighbourhood, which, having been recovered from the wreck of time, will be considered, I hope, a not unsuitable subject for the evening ears of a Wiltshire Archæological Audience.

In the large collection of Old Documents at Longleat, which I had the pleasure of bringing out into the light and identifying, there happens to be an unusual number that relate to the Seymour family, especially to the Protector Duke; and though I will not say that

there are any State Papers of the highest importance, still, there are papers of considerable value affecting certain historical transactions in which, as you will hear, one or two of his family were involved. Besides correcting, in a few points, the usual accounts of those events, these papers supply *us*, who take interest more particularly in Wiltshire History, with a good deal of new material for our purpose.

The Name appears to have been anciently spelled St. Maur. They had, among other residences, a Castle called by their name, near Penhow in the county Monmouth, and also Hatch Beauchamp, in the county of Somerset.⁽¹⁾ There being no occasion to go into all their early history, I begin with them when they came into the county Wilts. This was in the reign of Henry V. (A.D. 1413), when a Roger St. Maur of Hatch Beauchamp, by marrying the daughter and heiress of the old Wiltshire family of Esturmy, became owner of Wulfhall.

In order to know exactly where Wulfhall is, you are to suppose yourselves on the railway going from Devizes towards London. Stop at Savernake Station, get out and walk along the towing path of the canal by the side of the railway for about a mile beyond the station, take the first turn to the right, and you are at Wulfhall. All that is left of the old mansion is a picturesque little red-brick house with tall chimneys, called the Laundry. It stands at the foot of a rising ground, on the top of which, about 250 yards off, is the old farm house and large barton of Wulfhall.

(1) Mr. J. R. Planché (Brit. Archæol. Journ. 1856, p 325) says: "There are two families of St. Maur. The St. Maurs or Seymours of Kingston Seymour, in Somersetshire, who trace their pedigree to Milo de Sancto Mauro who with his wife Agnes is named in a fine roll of King John; and the St. Maurs or Seymours of Penhow Monmouthshire, from which the present ducal house of Somerset descends. All our genealogists, from Dugdale downwards, are scrupulous in observing that there is no connexion whatever between the two families, who bore different arms and settled in different counties, and I freely admit there is no connexion to be traced between them from the earliest date to which they have proved their pedigree; but that fact by no means satisfies me that they did not branch from the same Norman stock. We have no proof that there were two St. Maurs who came over with the Conqueror, (probably from St. Maure sur Loire in la Haute Touraine), nor can we assert that if there were two or more, they were not, as in many similar instances, near kinsmen.....That their arms should be different is no proof at all, for although a similarity in their bearings would be strong evidence in favour of some connexion, it is one of the most common things in the world to find, in those early days of heraldry, the son bearing a coat quite distinct from that of his father, as he did frequently a perfectly different name." The St. Maurs of Kingston bore Argent, two chevrons gules, a label of five points. The St. Maurs of Penhow, Gules, a pair of wings conjoined in lure or.

As to the meaning of the name, I would merely say that it has nothing to do with the *animal* wolf. The first syllable is spelled in the Domesday Record "*Ulf*," which was probably the name of some more ancient owner. The people of the neighbourhood still keep up the original pronunciation, calling it "Oolfall,"⁽¹⁾

Between the laundry and the old farm house stood the mansion of Wulfhall, the residence first of the Esturmy and then of the Seymour family, about a mile outside of Savernake Forest, and commanding a view of it.

Sir John Seymour of Wulfhall, who died 1536 (28 H. viii) had married a Wentworth of Nettlested; by whom he had, with other children, the three so famous in English History, Jane Seymour (Queen of Henry VIII. and mother of Edward VI.), Edward Seymour, the Protector, and Thomas Seymour, Lord Sudeley, who married Queen Katherine Parr, widow of Henry VIII. There is every reason to believe that Queen Jane Seymour and her brothers were born at their father's house at Wulfhall; but the Registers of the parish of Great Bedwyn are not old enough to tell us.

The Manor of Wulfhall, as appears from an old survey, consisted at that time of about 1270 acres, including what was and still is, called "Suddene Park," also a "Horse-park," and a "Red Deer Park." (*Appendix No. 1.*) About the house, which is said to have been timber-framed, there were several gardens, "the Great paled garden," "My Old lady's garden," and "My Young Lady's garden." There

(1) The name in the Wiltshire Domesday is *Ulfela*. In the same volume we have an *Ulf* as a land-holder at Bradford-on-Avon. At Lincoln, in 1049, there was a Clerk of the name of *Ulph*: and at York they still show a horn of one *Ulphus*, a Dane. The name has come down to our own time. In the Obituary of the *Times* newspaper, in April last, appeared the death of John Hurt *Ulph*, Esq. of St. Ives, Cornwall. Similarity of sound deceived Leland and Tanner. The former (*Itin.* ix. 36) calls it, in Latin, "*Lupinum, villa splendida Semarii*:" also in his "*Genethliacon, Edw. vi.*"

"*Vergit in occasum fecunda Severia tellus.*"

"*Illic Semarius, vir bello strenuus, amplam*"

"*Incoluit villam, quæ nomine dicta Lupinum.*"

Tanner (*Bibliot. Brit. Hibern.*) speaks of certain Epistles written by Edward (the future Protector) son of John Seymour "*de Puteo Lupino vulgo Wolf-hall.*" *Puteus Lupinus*, however, begging the learned Bp. Tanner's pardon, would not be first rate Latin for *Wolf-hall*: but it would do, as Latin, for the Saxon "*Wolf-hol*," a wolf's pit or den. The derivation of *Wulf-hall* being thus obscure, etymologists may chuse. To the writer, *Ulf*, as an owner's name seems the most probable.

was a Long Gallery, a Little court, a Broad chamber: and a *Chapel*: as appears from these entries in the Household Book;

(1) "Paid for a pastall for the Chapel, of 1 lb. weight, 17d.

(2) "Two morteyeses for the Sepulchre, 13 lb. 1s. 6d.

"Two tapers for the Chapel, 6d. Frankincense 1d.

There was also a Kennel of Hounds. About the House was an Establishment of 44 men of various positions, and seven females. The highest, the Steward, received £3 10s. 0d. a year; the lowest, Two Turnbroches (turnspits), each 13s. 4d. a year. (*App. No. II.*)

Queen Jane Seymour was married at Wulfhall in 1536, the year of her father's death. In the farm yard is still standing the fine old barn made of wood and thatched, in which her wedding festivities were kept. The Rev. G. Stallard of Grafton has kindly furnished me with a drawing of it, for the purpose of being introduced into our Magazine, which is the more desirable, because the old barn is in a most dilapidated condition, especially as to the roof, and unless speedily restored will soon cease to be the national curiosity that it is. It is 172 feet long, by 26 feet wide, and there are still to be seen, against some of the beams and walls, nails or hooks to which were attached the tapestry and hangings used to smarten it up for the dancers at Queen Jane's wedding. I was in hopes of being able to meet with all the particulars of that affair, but was disappointed. There is, however, an account of part of the expenses of carpenter's work in altering Westminster Hall for her Coronation. (*App. No. III.*) She died October 1537, after about a year and a half of married life.⁽³⁾ In August 1539, a few months before the King's next marriage, with Anne of Cleves, (which took place in January 1540,) the King and his whole Court came down to Wulfhall on a visit to Edward Seymour, the late Queen's brother, afterwards Protector,

(1) "Pastall:" meaning probably "Paschal," a large wax-candle used at Easter.

(2) Morteyeses: a kind of taper.

(3) For the account of some tapestry and bed furniture worked by Queen Jane Seymour, see Appendix, No. xix.

but at that time Earl of Hertford. Of this visit every particular is preserved in the large Household Book now on the table, so far at least as regards the provision of food. (*App. No. iv.*) I have never seen this visit of Henry into Wiltshire mentioned in books, so we may reckon it as a small fragment recovered from the wreck of time. The items of the account are curious enough, but being too long to read now will do very well to print, as a specimen of the formal and careful way in which kitchen expenses were controlled in those days. It would not be amiss if in great modern establishments some such just and proper register were kept for every day. There would be much less waste and robbery, without any diminution of hospitality. The book itself also is a very fair specimen of its class. Our Elizabethan forefathers were very stately in these things. They did not use those insignificant pass books in red leather, stamped with the butcher or baker's name, which supply our ladies with a little exercise in arithmetic every Monday morning, but they kept large substantial and portly volumes, strongly bound, with arms, devices, and sometimes large effigies of sacred subjects stamped on the cover. The paper (all of foreign manufacture) is as thick, and almost as durable, as parchment. The expenses of every kind, for every meal, with the number of guests and names of visitors, are duly entered; and in many instances, every page, or at least monthly summary, is formally signed by the master or mistress with as much solemnity as if he or she were executing a will.

Another of the Earl's account books corroborates the tradition about the old barn having been used for the wedding dance (1536), for when King Henry came down to Wulfhall on the occasion I am speaking of, in 1539, the old barn, being the largest room they had, was again in requisition.

"Paid to Cornish the paynter for dyvers colours by him bought, for makyng certeyn fretts & antiques on canves for my lord's Barn and House at Wulf haull agenst the King's coming thether 9th Aug. and for his cost in being sent to London for the same colors"—31s. 8d.

It seems, from the next entry, that the Earl of Hertford and

family gave up the house at Wulfhall to make room for the King, and occupied the old barn themselves:

"Paid by the hands of Thomas Hethe to certain painters, joyners, carpenters, masons, and others, for their wages in preparing and trimming of the Barne at Wulfhall wherein my Lord lay and kept his house during the King's abode there, and also for the ridding, cleansing and garnishing of the Manor of Wulfhall wherein the King lay, and also to Penham Lodge⁽¹⁾ where my Lord's mother and children lay"—£68 10s. 10d.

The King, with his whole household and nobility, arrived at Wulfhall, Saturday 9th August, 1539. They remained Sunday, Monday and Tuesday following. How or where so many were lodged does not appear; but "covers" as we should call them, "messes" as the book calls them, were laid for 200 the first day. There are only two meals a day accounted for: and as it appears all through the book, that on Saturdays as well as Fridays, no meat was eaten, the King's supper, on his arrival, consisted only of fish.⁽²⁾ Country places in Wiltshire must have been better supplied with that article than they are now; for the bill of fare presents (for 200, observe) pikes, salmon, gils, tenches, lobsters, bream, plaice, trouts, congers, carps, roach, eels, potted sea-fish, and salmon pasties, a sack of oysters, salt "haberdine" (which was codfish salted at Aberdeen), soles and whittings.

The next day being Sunday, there were messes for 400, and the provision amounted to six oxen, 24 muttons, 12 veals, 5 cygnets, 21 great capons, 7 good capons, 11 Kentish capons, 3 doz. and 6 coarse capons, 70 pullets, 91 chicken, 38 quails, 9 mews, 6 egrets, 2 shields of brawn, 7 swans, 2 cranes, 2 storks, only 3 pheasants, 40 partridges, 4 peachicks, 21 snipe, besides larks and brewes—whatever they were.

The number of mouths is accounted for, when I find that the gentry of the neighbourhood who were invited thought it becoming their dignity to bring a rather large part of their respective establishments with them: for among others are my Lady Hungerford

(1) Perhaps an error for Tottenham Lodge, which is sometimes miscalled in these old papers, Topenham.

(2) Abstinence from flesh on those two days was ordered by a Royal Proclamation, not only for health and discipline, but "for the benefit of the commonwealth and profit of the fishing trade."

with six servants and gentlewomen, Sir Anthony Hungerford, my Lady his wife and 8 servants; Master Wroughton with 5; my Lady Darrell with 4; Sir John Brydges with 8.

The expense of all this seems however not to have fallen upon the master of Wulfhall. The King's own officers and purveyors provided the greater part of it, and presents from the neighbours came in aid.

The particulars, of which I have given only a few, relate solely to the King's visit to Wulfhall; but in other account-books of this Earl of Hertford (afterwards Protector Somerset) there is a vast number of curious miscellaneous entries, which supply a good deal of information as to the modes of living and state of the country in those days. In fact it is chiefly from obscure sources of this kind that we really learn most about the manners and habits of our forefathers. In stately and elaborate histories, such things are omitted. There the great personages pass before us on the stage in their solemn dress of State—Kings, Queens, Prime Ministers, Cardinals, &c., just as you see them at a play; but the household and private accounts of a great man, admit us, as it were, behind the scenes, and we see how they lived and what they did in a nearer and more familiar way.

Lord Macaulay is one of the few who are not indifferent to these things. "It will be my endeavour," he says, "not to pass by with neglect, even the revolutions which have taken place in dress, repasts, and public amusements. I shall cheerfully bear the reproach of having descended below the dignity of history, if I can succeed in placing before the English people of the 19th century a true picture of the life of their ancestors."

We may not perhaps all of us agree with Lord Macaulay in the political complexion of his history, or approve the use he has made of his materials, but nobody I suppose reproaches him for having descended below the dignity of history, in giving us such details. But where did he get them from? Why, either by himself, or others

for him, raking into venerable rubbish, digging into repositories of old family papers, and the like; using, as Lord Chancellor Bacon bade us, antiquities and archæology as one branch of history.

A few extracts from these account books (see more in *App. No. v.*) bring him before us in his Wiltshire life. His journies, for instance, about the neighbourhood, were attended with an expense to which a "Special train" would be a trifle:—

"Paid for 36 horses of my Lord's Train standing in divers places when my Lord lay one night at my Lord Hungerford's at Farley Castle."

"For the same one night at Sir Henry Long's.

"For the same one night in the Abbey of Malmesbury.

"For 37 horses one night when my Lord lay at Bradstoke Abbey,

"For 40 horses one night at The Devizes when my Lord lay at Mr. Ernley's.

"For shoeing horses bringing up my Lord's revenues.

His very rents were brought up in coin on horseback, there being no checks and penny stamps in those days.

Then his little boy, Lord Beauchamp, has to be sent on a visit, and to be brought home again.

"Paid to Mr. Seymour for his own, and 2 carters' and 4 horses' expenses, bringing a wagon from Wulfhall to Twickenham to carry my Lord Beauchamp, and returning to Wulfhall again. (1)

Sometimes I find him hunting wild boars in Savernake Forest, and paying 4d. for hempen halters to bind their legs with; sometimes hawking in Collingbourne Woods.

In 1541 are entries of little amusements in very respectable company:—Losing 1s. 4d. "unto the Bishop of Rochester at Guildford, at shooting." Again, winning 35s. at cards, "which my Lord did win that same night he did sup at Lambeth with my Lord of Canterbury."

(1) The drivers being called "carters," it might at first sight be supposed that the "wagon," was the same kind of broad wheeled heavy conveyance with lumbering cart-horses, as that which is now so called. But before coaches were introduced, a lighter vehicle of that name was commonly used by the highest classes. "In 1583, the day after Lady Mary Sidney entered Shrewsbury in her "wagon, that valiant Knight Sir Henry Sidney, her husband, made his appearance in his wagon, "with his Trumpeters blowing, very joyfully to behold." (Nichols's Progresses, 11, 309.) There is a very old Wiltshire tradition, that Sir Thomas Hungerford, of Farley Castle, when he went up to London to take his Seat in Parliament, as First Speaker of the House of Commons, travelled in a wagon. Collins, in his Peerage, also mentions that the Body of Sir John Thynne, the Builder of Longleat, was carried in a wagon to Longbridge Deverill Church. In both these cases, the lighter kind of carriage is most probably meant.

King Henry's visit to Wulfhall, just described, was in August, 1539. He was there again in 1543—as I find some of his servants quartered at Burbage, and a bill for their expenses. (*App. No. vi.*)

He died about four years afterwards, viz., on 28th January, 1547, and Jane Seymour's son, Edward VI., then between 9 and 10 years old, became King of England. His uncle, Edward Seymour Earl of Hertford, became Protector of his nephew, and by that title we must now call him. Sir John Thynne, the founder of Longleat (though this house was not built for many years afterwards) had been through life one of the most confidential friends of Protector Somerset, and whilst the Protector attended to affairs of State, Sir John conducted all private business for him, and matters relating to property. Hence it happens that so many of the Protector's private papers are preserved at Longleat. His purchases and grants of land were enormous. The mere names of the manors fill two or three columns. He had several residences in or near London, as at Richmond, Sion House, and elsewhere; so that I fear our old timber house at Wulfhall, outside Savernake Forest, did not receive much attention.⁽¹⁾ It would probably be unable to contain so great a man as Protector Somerset, suddenly elevated from the rank of a Wiltshire gentleman to be King over the King of England. It is well known that one of the charges brought against him by his rivals was that he had dropped the ordinary singular pronoun "I," and began his communications with the Royal Plural "We." Of this there are several instances in his letters at Longleat. It used to be in former days—"Good Mr. Thynne, I have received your letters," &c., ending, "And thus I bid you heartily farewell." But my Lord's Grace the Protector's new style is—"We have received your letters," and "We bid you heartily farewell." I

(1) Sir John Thynne held at this time by a lease of 1546 the Prebend or Parsonage of Gt. Bedwyn from the Earl of Hertford: and Sir John seems also to have held the lands at Wulfhall; for in 1547, being abroad with the Earl on the expedition to Boulogne (which ended in the peace made between Guianes and Ardres) he writes from Newhaven (Havre) to his steward, Mr. Dodd, "Further I wol you forget not to sell all my olde Jads (jades) at Wulfehaull whiche before I willed you to sell, & see that my mares & colts be marked, & sende me word how many I have of all sorts at Wulfehaull or Elvetham."



have brought two of his letters which show this. Still, though he may not have often visited the old family house, he bought all he could round it; and the greater part of his vast possessions certainly lay in this county and in Somerset.

Besides Wulfhall and Tottenham Lodge, the Duke of Somerset had a residence at Easton, a dissolved Priory near Pewsey. (*App. No. VII.*) But from the Longleat Papers I have made the rather interesting discovery, that it certainly was his intention to build a new house, upon some very large scale, not exactly on the site of Wulfhall, but very near it, rather more towards Great Bedwyn. Those who are acquainted with that neighbourhood will know the high ground consisting of two wooded hills, with Wilton Common lying between them, called Bedwyn Brail. The word Brail used often to be pronounced Broyl, which is merely a provincial variety of one and the same word, signifying both in old French "Breuil," and mediæval Latin, "Brolium," or "Bruelletum," in Anglo Saxon "Broel," open pasture ground studded with thickets and timber. Near Ringmer, in Sussex, there is an old house, with large well-timbered park, called Broyle Place, most likely of the same origin.

The two hills called Bedwyn Brail, or Broil, command a fine view down the Vale of Pewsey, westward; and on them this new palace was to have been built. In the letters written to Sir John Thynne by stewards and other local agents, (*App. No. VIII.*) are described the large preparations going on—the providing of water, searching for stone, enclosure of a park, brick making, orders for Purbeck stone, &c. &c. One letter in particular dwells upon the progress they are making in a large conduit or channel for bringing water to the new house, and reports that this conduit had been dug to the length of 1600 feet, and part thereof 15 feet deep.

There were so many references in these letters to local names of mills and commons and the like, to be enclosed within the new park, that I determined to use my own eyes and tongue, and see if we could not make out something more about this palace which Protector Somerset

intended to build in this his native county. I was more particularly struck by the circumstance of the conduit for water 1600 feet long and 15 feet deep, as a rather important work, not likely to be easily obliterated, and one of which some traces might still be recoverable. So I went over some little time ago on an exploring expedition to Wulfhall, and with Mr. Stallard, walked about the hills and fairly identified the outline of the proposed park.

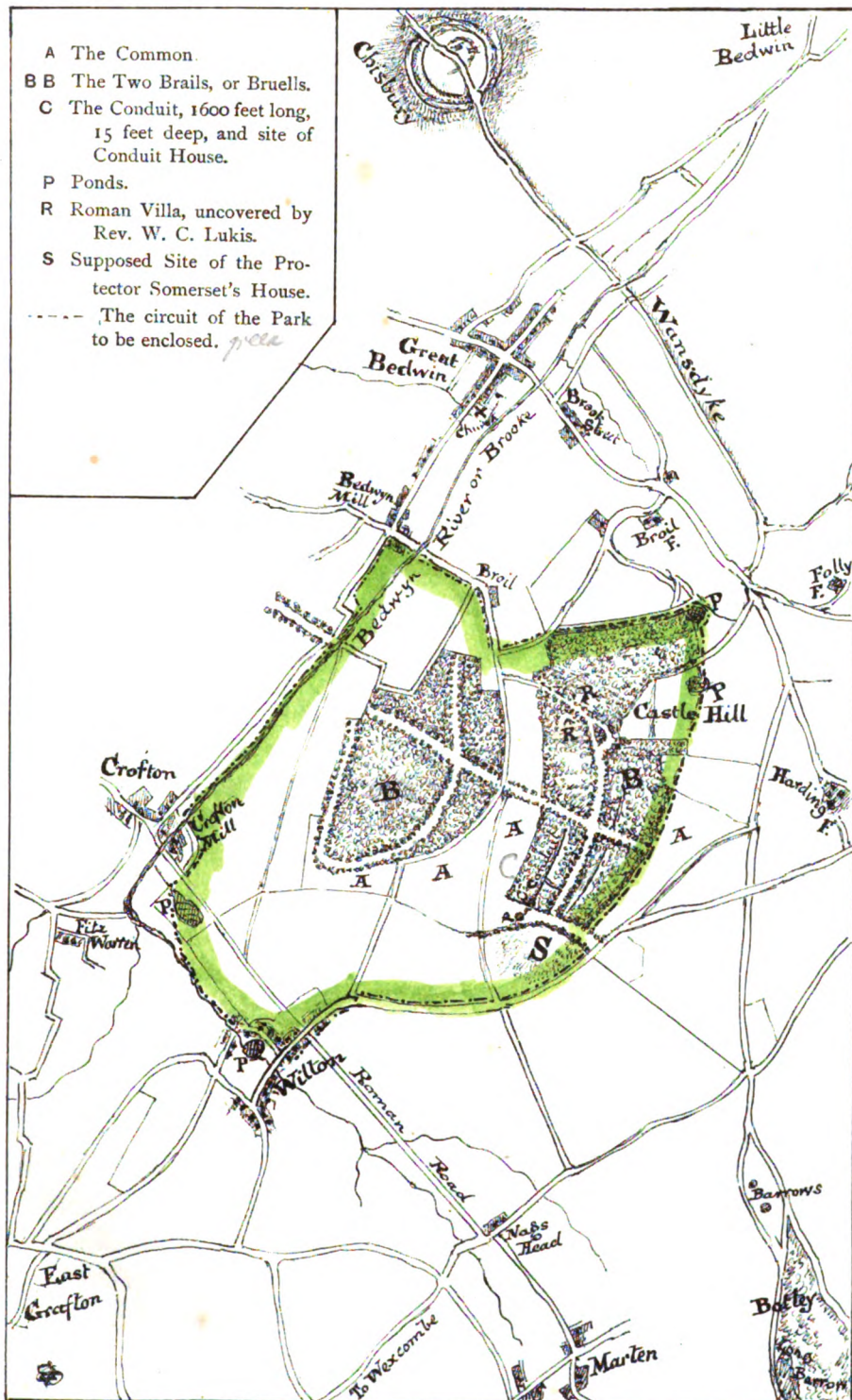
A day or two afterwards, I had the pleasure of hearing that he had been again to the woods, had discovered the remains of the conduit for water, had measured it and found it 1598 feet long (*see the Plan*). *abm S*

The conduit-digging and other preparations took place, according to these letters, in 1548 and 1549, the beginning of Edward VI. and of the Protector Somerset's reign. A few months afterwards, the wheel of fortune gave a violent turn. The Protector was deposed from power, and in January 1552, sinking under the assault of his rivals, was beheaded on Tower Hill. So the great house was never finished on Bedwyn Brail.

I come now to the next owner of Wulfhall:

EDWARD SEYMOUR, EARL OF HERTFORD, SON OF PROTECTOR SOMERSET.

The Protector had been twice married; but through the influence of his second wife Anne Stanhope, the children of the first marriage were set aside, and the title and larger part of the estates entailed upon the children of the second. The eldest of these, Edward, was only about 12 or 13 years old at the time of his father's execution, and being wholly deprived (not by his Father's attainder, which was for felony only, not treason, but by a special Act of Parliament procured by enemies,) of all dignities and lands, found himself reduced to plain, and penniless, Edward Seymour. Sir John Thynne having been for so many years intimately acquainted with his Father's affairs, was the person immediately applied to and consulted with, about measures to be taken for his



benefit. (*App. No. ix.*) Queen Mary (though opposed to him in religion) wished to create him Earl of Hertford, and restore to him such lands as the Protector had been possessed of at the death of King Henry VIII, 1547, (*App. No. ix. Letter 2.*) But in this she was over-ruled. Queen Elizabeth, however, on coming to the throne, raised him to that Earldom, and restored to him certain lands, viz: those (and only those) which his Father had been in possession of in the year 1537, by *inheritance*. This included Wulfhall, Savernake, &c. The rest (namely lands acquired by the Protector, by purchase, &c.) was lost. (*App. No. x.*)

The young Earl made his condition worse by an indiscreet clandestine marriage with a young lady of the most important political position, the Lady Katharine Grey, sister of the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey. Under the Will of Henry VIII., the Greys, though descended from a younger sister of the King's, were preferred, in the succession, to the descendants from an elder sister. Such a Will was, of course, the cause of infinite perplexity to the Statesmen of the day. It was set aside; but Queen Elizabeth was exposed to continual plots and conspiracies arising from it; and not being over-partial to successors of any kind, she more particularly disliked Lady Katharine Grey, the representative of the youngest branch. So that, when young Edward Seymour, without the leave and even the knowledge of the Queen, had the audacity to marry Lady Katharine, the result may be easily anticipated.

Here might be introduced a long and lamentable story, but a very few words must suffice.

Upon the Queen's discovery of the marriage, (but not until several months after the event) the young couple were committed to the Tower in 1562, with strict order to be kept apart. But Her Majesty's precautions against the appearance of any issue in this line of succession came too late. The first son, Edward Lord Beauchamp, was born a few days after her committal, and in course of time, in February 1563, a second son, Thomas Seymour; both within the Tower walls. On the birth of the second, the case became very serious. The Earl was sum-

moned before the Star Chamber, and fined in the very large sum of £15,000, and both were condemned to remain in prison. Owing to the plague breaking out, they were removed elsewhere for a time, but on returning to the Tower, and her health beginning to give way, they were again transferred to private custody, and Lady Katharine died at Sir Owen Hopton's house, Jan. 26, 1568.

This affair was at the time an important State question, and as it occupies a place in all our Histories, I am glad to be able to supply one or two items of information about it, which ought to correct the history for the future.

The first is one which quite alters the matter of the Fine. It certainly, at first, was £15,000, and this has often been pointed at as an instance of Elizabeth's hard-heartedness; but the real truth is this:—That heavy sum was named, *in terrorem*, to warn others. The Queen herself, immediately excused £10,000. Of the remaining £5,000, she insisted upon rather more than £1,000 down, and certainly did mean to make the young gentleman pay the rest; but through the intercession of the Ministers about her, and on the Earl's own full and respectful submission, the whole of the rest was ultimately excused, and he escaped for the precise sum of £1,187. This I can safely state to have been the case, because the Earl's own account of the matter, together with a copy of the Warrant for his discharge, are now on the table. (*App. No. xi.*)

The period during which he was under surveillance, or actually in prison, has also never been exactly known and is variously stated by writers. In his own account, just referred to, the Earl says that "he patiently endured her Majesty's displeasure, in prison," ten years lacking one month. ⁽¹⁾

(1) The Earl certainly remained in bondage until about Aug. 1571, and among the Longleat Papers there is a lamentable petition from him (probably one of many) written when actually in prison. (see App. xii. 1.) But for the greater part of the time, judging from the easy tone of his letters and the variety of houses of the gentry from which he writes, such restraint, though no doubt a great hindrance to him, was a widely different thing from being shut up "in prison." There is also a Letter from Lady Katharine to her husband (App. xii. 2.) written in a vein of unusual gaiety for a captive.

Another discovery of considerable interest as connected with the touching misfortunes of this eminent historical couple, I made by the very merest accident.

I was one day very busy working by myself in arranging papers in the Old Library at the top of Longleat House, and I happened to be trying to fasten together two sheets of a pedigree which had parted company. All tables being covered with piles of papers, I laid it on the floor. Old vellum that has been rolled up close for perhaps 200 years, is, I must assure you, a very obstinate and rebellious article to deal with. So, having gummed together the edges of the two sheets, kneeling with one knee on one corner, the other knee on a second corner, and one hand on a third, I wanted a weight to keep down the fourth. I was within a yard or so of the book-shelves, but I was afraid to get up from my position, because if I had, my pedigree would most certainly have sprung up after me. So, looking out for some shabby old volume that would take no great harm by a tumble on to the floor, I spied one without any binding, I gave a desperate jerk, could just hook it with the tip of my forefinger, and down it came. As it came down, a loose leaf flew out to a distance. I did not look to see what the book was till it had done its duty. I then examined it, and found it was a small French Bible, having the motto of the Seymour family, "*Foy pour devoir*," written at the top of the title page, and the name "*E. Hertford*," written at the bottom. On picking up the loose leaf, I found that the little book was actually the very Bible used by the Earl of Hertford and Lady Katharine Grey in the Tower of London; and on the loose leaf were written by the Earl the entries of the births of the two sons, Edward Lord Beauchamp and Thomas Seymour; followed by a truly pathetic prayer, in French, for God's blessing on them, and that Queen Elizabeth's heart might be moved to have pity on the poor parents. (*App. No. XIII.*)

The Queen resented most deeply the slight put upon herself by this secret marriage, and she did all she could to pronounce it, and the issue, illegitimate. The person she was most offended with was Lady Kath-

arine, on account of her being so near in that line of succession, which the Queen detested; though Lady Katharine herself, like her unfortunate sister, Lady Jane, had no ambition of her own, and both of them probably heartily wished that they had nothing whatever to do with the succession. The Queen may perhaps seem to us to have acted with unnecessary severity; but we are living in the days of Queen Victoria, not of Queen Elizabeth: and there are no conspiracies and plottings now besetting the throne by potentates abroad or fanatics at home, for purposes of their own; we are happily free from troubles upon that score, and to be so free is surely a blessing above all price, if we all did but know it. But things were different then: and the difference should always be remembered, in judging of the conduct of Queen Elizabeth. After the death of Lady Katharine Grey, the Queen was, personally, as kind as it was possible to be, to the Earl of Hertford and his children, and all would have been forgotten, had it not been for a second matrimonial affair in this same Seymour family, which most unluckily coming to her knowledge just before her death, revived all the animosity she had felt against Lady Katharine.

Elizabeth's death bed is described by a Lady Southwell, an eye witness.⁽¹⁾ Up to that moment, who the successor was to be was still uncertain; and Secretary Cecil and others, on the night of the 23rd of March, 1603, approached her bed-side, asking her to name one. The old Queen seemed to be already speechless; so they requested her to show by some sign with her hand, when they should have named the one she liked. She said nothing. They named "The King of France?" Neither word, nor sign. "The King of Scotland?" Again neither. They then ventured the name of "The Lord Beauchamp, the son and heir of Katharine Grey?" She was stirred by the sound of the name: and replied, "I will have no rascal's son in my seat, but one worthy to be a King." According to another account,⁽²⁾ Cecil then boldly asked her,

(1) *Quarterly Review*, vol. 108, p 439.

(2) Disraeli's "*Curiosities of Literature*," 2nd ser. iii. 107.

What she meant by those words, "no rascal should succeed her?" Whereto she answered, that "her meaning was, that a King should succeed: and who should that be but our Cousin of Scotland?"⁽¹⁾ It is, however, a remarkable fact in the history of the descent of the Crown, and one not commonly known, that for nearly twelve months after her death, and King James's accession, March 1603, the legal right to the throne, according to the *Statutes then in force*, actually vested in this very Edward Seymour, Lord Beauchamp, eldest son of the Earl of Hertford, and the Lady Katharine Gray. James's *hereditary* pretensions were not acknowledged and ratified by Parliament until March, 1604.⁽²⁾

We must now go back to the old House at Wulfhall, the text of my story. The Earl of Hertford having been a minor several years after his father the Protector's execution, came of age about 1559. I find from letters (*App. No. xiv.*) written by him as he drew near his majority, that he had proposed to come down into the county, where he was quite unknown, to be introduced by Sir John Thynne to some of the principal friends near his place, and to stop there for a fortnight to shoot bucks for the benefit of the said friends; and he hoped Sir John would let him have 100 marks for the expenses of his journey. But it was just after this design that the troubles of his marriage and imprisonment began. So that for those ten years, lacking one month, he saw very little of Wulfhall until 1569. Early in that year, (six after Lady Katharine's death), he sends down into Wiltshire a letter to Sir John Thynne for some information as to the condition of his house, which he had heard on credible report was in the way of utter ruin, and desiring some estimates to be obtained of the entire expense of putting it into repair. (*App.*

(1) Readers in the *present* day, accustomed to attach to the word "rascal" the sense of "scoundrel," would instantly, and most properly, be glad to put a charitable construction upon the poor Queen's language, and say that in the moment of expiring faculties she had forgotten herself. But there seems to be no occasion for this. *Rascal* was a word of the Forest, and at that time was used to signify a lean or inferior deer, as distinguished from those in full condition. All that the Queen probably meant was, that she would have for her successor one of *full blood Royal*: not one whose blood was of less fine quality.

(2) Sir H. Nicolas. *Chronology of History*. p. 320.

No. xiv. 5.) Something in this way was done, for in September of that year (1569) he writes (from Wulfhall, spelling the name by the way, just as the people still call it, *Ulfhall*,) that he has pulled down a tower, and is clearing away rotten timber and decayed iron. There are more letters in 1573, 1574, and 1575. But by that time the letters refer no longer to the repairing of the old family house, but to the enlargement of a hunting lodge in the Forest then called Tottenham Lodge. (*App. No. xv.*) There are many orders about the walks, gardens, &c., all of which must have been finished about 1582, for his letters are then dated from Tottenham Lodge; and he was expecting the Queen to visit him in 1583. These letters show what I just observed, viz., that the Queen's vexation about his marriage had been directed not so much against him personally, as against Katharine Grey; or at any rate, that her anger against him was smoothed down: for now that Katharine Grey had been dead several years, I find the Earl of Hertford constantly, not only at Court, but staying with her Majesty on visits. The two boys also, Lord Beauchamp (the "*rascal's son*," of this great Lady's dying moments), and his brother were frequently with her. She took much interest in them, used to ask about their learning, how they got on, &c. In one letter to the Earl, a tutor who was with them on their visit at the Queen's house, writes thus:—"With My Lord Beauchamp Her Grace has special speeches, to what effect I know not, but without all doubt for his great good, if he have a prepared mind to follow grave and sound counsel. Her Grace made him fetch his Latin book entitled "*Regula Vitæ*," and out of the same to read the chapters entitled "*De Veritate et Mendaciis*, ("*About Truth and Lies*.") (*App. No. xvi.*)

I may, in passing, just mention that in these letters I also found what was not known before, that the Queen paid a visit to Longleat, and was greatly pleased with her reception. (*App. No. xiv. Letter 13.*) Also a little anecdote about Her Majesty, which I don't suppose has ever seen the light before. One of the ladies in attendance thus writes from the Court at Nonsuch Palace—they had just returned from a ride on

horseback:—"We were all greatly afraid, for Her Majesty's horse, in stumbling fell withal, and she withal fell, but, as she says, she leapt off from him, but her footman stood her in great stead; but thanks be to God she had no kynde of harm, and presently after she walked a-foot half a mile. You may think what a fearful sight it was. Her Majesty would have ridden on that horse again, but he would not suffer her to come on his back." (*App. No. xvii.*) I think the horse showed great sagacity.

From these letters, therefore, it seems that Wulfhall ceased to be the residence of the Seymours about the year 1582, and that the family began about that year to make Tottenham Lodge their residence, such as Tottenham Lodge then was.⁽¹⁾

Edward Earl of Hertford lived to the great age of 83, and is buried under a magnificent monument in Salisbury Cathedral. Though he was married three times, the remains only of his first wife, Lady Katharine Grey, lie there also, having been removed from the original grave in Middlesex. The Earl died in 1621. His son, Lord Beauchamp, had died before him, so that the next owner of Wulfhall and Tottenham Lodge was the Earl's grandson.

(1) In 1640, Wulfhall Demaines were let by Wm. Marquis of Hertford, to Tenants; John Bransdon held part at £204 16s. 0d. a year. Edward Savage, another part, at £161 13s. 8d. The Hop Garden at £3 0s. 0d. besides other pieces.

In August, 1654, William Marquis of Hertford, leased, for seven years, to Edward Savage, Sudden Park, in Great Bedwyn, by estimation, 240 acres, with the House called the Lodge. Also a Barn at "Ulphal," called the Oat Barn, and another called the Old Barn, the house called the Wooll (or Well?) House, and the toft called Gate House Toft, all belonging to the site of the Manor House of Wolf Hall. The old materials of Wulfhall, so far as they were of any value, were carried to Tottenham. John Aubrey is the authority for this. Writing about 1672, he says: "The house has been much bigger, and great part pulled down within these 10 years, to build the house of Tocknam Parke." Of Tottenham Park, which he calls a "romancey place," he says (and he died 1696): "Here is a new complete pile of good architecture." (N. H. of Wilts, 123.) The house he speaks of was much altered under the taste of the Earl of Burlington, about 1717. Wings and a Chapel were added in 1722. The late Lord Ailesbury made further additions, which have been continued since his death.

In Gough's Camden, Tottenham is said to have belonged to the Despensers, temp. Edw. ii., but this is quite wrong. Camden confounded it with Tockenham, near Wotton Bassett.

WILLIAM SEYMOUR MARQUIS OF HERTFORD.

From his history I can only select one event, but it is the one which I referred to a few moments ago, as having re-awakened the anger of Queen Elizabeth on her death bed. Mr. William Seymour, though very young, had, in the matter of marriage, committed an indiscretion precisely similar to that of his grandfather, Edward Earl of Hertford. He had betrothed himself just before the Queen's death, to a lady very near the throne, the Lady Arabella Stuart. This lady was first cousin to King James I., and if that King had died without children, Lady Arabella would certainly have been Queen of England. She was of a very independent, honest and original mind: had no taste for courts, their grandeur, vices, or follies: but was, from her position, looked upon by others as a proper and convenient person to be made use of for their own intrigues and plots, though she herself knew nothing about them, and was only too glad to keep out of the way. She formed a strong attachment to young William Seymour, and they were clandestinely married, *i.e.*, without the knowledge of King James.

So the story becomes simply a repetition of that of Katharine Grey. Though they had been betrothed (as I have said) just before the Queen's death, they were not actually married till seven years afterwards; but King James was quite as unrelenting as his predecessor, and the treatment which this accomplished and unfortunate Princess, his own first cousin, met with, cannot be read without indignation.

There is a letter of some importance in her history, which could not be known to any of her biographers, having only lately come to light. It is a message from William Seymour to her before the marriage, calling her attention to the inequality of their stations, and suggesting the prudence of breaking it off altogether, on account of the great peril of incurring the King's displeasure. (*App. No. xviii.*)

The secret marriage took place in an apartment in the Palace, then at Greenwich, at a very early hour of the day. Soon after its discovery,

they were committed to different prisons, but by concerted plans, and the help of friends, they made their escape the same day, and agreed to meet at a vessel moored in the Thames, near Gravesend, and so escape together to France. The boatmen being fearful and impatient, rowed her far beyond the place agreed upon. So Seymour, on arriving there and missing her, took another vessel and reached the coast of Flanders in safety. She reached Calais roads, but whilst waiting there in intense anxiety for him, was overtaken by a King's ship called "*The Adventure*," and brought back to the Tower. On the table is a letter from Sir Wm. Monson to the Earl of Salisbury. (*App. No. xix.*) relating to this important capture: the marks on which show in what a state of excitement the Government was about this affair. It was sent up to London by express post, and is endorsed with the word "Haste," repeated no less than six times, and with the precise hour of the messenger's arrival at the different stages of his gallop.

Another singular discovery relating to the Lady Arabella, rewarded my researches. I was clearing out a large closet in the Old Library, filled chiefly with bulky Account Books of the Household at Longleat, going as far as three centuries back. The closet was very dark; so I brought them out one by one, into the sunshine, and laid them, when recognized, each on its proper heap, in the order of the names of the successive owners of the House. I thought I had quite emptied the hiding-place; but, to make sure, went in once more, and luckily detected in the farthest corner, a long narrow book, so much of the colour of the floor, that it had very nearly been overlooked altogether. On being examined, it was headed, on the first page:

"An Accompt of all soche monies as have bin receyved by me for my Ladye's use sins the 22nd August, 1609."

This seemed to refer to some Lady manager of Longleat, but that would not fit the domestic history: because, in "1609," all Accounts would have been rendered to "My Master," and not to "My Lady," besides which, the items of money received or paid, did not in any way refer to local

matters, but to "The Lord Treasurer," "Whitehall," and the like. But no name for "My Lady" was to be found. So the old book was in the act of being closed and laid aside for future examination, when my eye caught some writing hidden under the fly leaf. The fly leaf itself had been pasted down along the edges, to the inside of the parchment cover, but I thought I saw some writing through the paper. So, taking out my penknife, I carefully released the page, and to my no small surprise found, written in a large bold hand, this memorandum:—

"The 22 of January, 1610, about 4 in the morning, My Lady was married at Grenewich to Mr. William Seymour."

Then followed the names of the witnesses present, and of the officiating minister. Underneath, two more memoranda—

"The 8 of July, Mr. Seymour was committed to the Tower."

"The 9th of the same month My Lady to Sir Thomas Parry's."

It was, in a word, an Account Book of the Lady Arabella's, kept by her secretary, Mr. Crompton; with an entry by him, on the last leaf, of the particulars of his Lady's secret marriage. (*App. No. xx.*)

All that had been hitherto discovered upon this subject, is thus given by the latest biographer of the Lady Arabella.

"Seymour and his friend Rodney, set off for Greenwich⁽¹⁾ where they arrived at midnight. They waited till morning, when the marriage was celebrated in the apartment of Arabella, Rodney and two servants being the witnesses. No record of the marriage has been discovered, nor the name of the priest who officiated. The secrecy requisite to the safety of the parties probably is the cause of this. Perhaps at some future time, among dusty records, they may be found."⁽²⁾

The book itself turned out to be rather curious, being a Register of a kind of Royal Progress she had made from London to Chatsworth, and the return journey to London. This is a part of the poor Princess's life

(1) Lady Arabella had apartments in the Old Palace formerly there.

(2) Miss E. Cooper's *Life of Lady Arabella Seymour*, ii. 110. Since the publication of her book in 1866, she has found among the Tanner MSS. at Oxford, the Original "Confession," signed by Wm. Seymour: a copy of which she has kindly sent me. With this Confession, Mr. Crompton's Memoranda in the old Account Book at Longleat exactly correspond. (See Appendix, No. xxi.)

quite unknown to her biographers, so that we may add this to our list of little fragments recovered from the shipwreck of time.

After her first committal, Lady Arabella was, for a time, removed to private custody, but, on being sent back to the Tower, her mind began to give way, and in a few years she died there of grief in 1615. There are two fine portraits of her at Longleat, and twenty-eight of her letters addressed to Lord Robert Cecil and her uncle and aunt, the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury.⁽¹⁾

Wm. Seymour was allowed to remain abroad. A letter written to him by his Grandfather, the Earl of Hertford, which appears to be new, will be found in the Appendix (No. xxii.)

I have now only a few words more to say. After Lady Arabella's death, William, Marquis of Hertford, married Lady Frances Devereux, sister and co-heir of the Earl of Essex. He was restored to the Dukedom of Somerset, and died in 1660. The Duchess (of whom there is a fine marble bust in Great Bedwyn Church) survived her Husband, and continued to live at Tottenham Park till her death in 1674.

Robert Lord Beauchamp, then her eldest surviving son, died in France, but his body was brought over and interred at Great Bedwyn, January, 1646. The Warrant for his Corpse to pass, was signed by King Charles I. (*App. No. xxiii.*)

By her Will dated 7th June, 1673, the Duchess bequeathed to her grand-daughter, the Lady Elizabeth Seymour, the magnificent Pedigree of the Seymour Family now preserved at Savernake: also a "great rich

(1) These Letters (with many others of the period, now bound in Two Quarto Volumes) appear to have been a portion of the celebrated "Talbot Papers," which were dispersed on the dismantling of Sheffield Castle (the Earl of Shrewsbury's): the history of which affair, so far as then known, is given in a Note to Hunter's *Hallamshire*, p. 49. Edit. 1819. They came into the possession of the First Lord Weymouth who died in 1714. They were seen at Longleat, and copied by Dr. Birch, of the British Museum, about 1754, and his copies are now preserved there in "Sloane MS. 4164." After that time they were probably put away (as often happens) in some very safe place, to be again brought to light by an inquisitive posterity, for in the "Curiosities of Literature," (Mr. I. Disraeli, 2nd Ser. I. 268. 8vo. 1824,) it is mentioned in a Note that the existence at Longleat of certain papers relating to Lady Arabella was on record: and Miss Costello (*Lives of Eminent Englishwomen*, I. 322,) says, that though she visited the House and was allowed to search, she could not find or hear of them. They are, however, perfectly safe and in excellent preservation; and were in 1866 printed in Miss E. Cooper's *Life of Lady Arabella*, from Dr. Birch's Copies.

bed that was Queen Jane Seymour's." By the document printed in the Appendix (No. xxiv,) it appears that certain Tapestry, Bed-furniture, &c. "said to be wrought by Queen Jane," had become property of the Crown, and had been delivered by King Charles I. to the Duchess's husband, then Marquis of Hertford: but after the King's death, the Commissioners for the sale of his goods, made the Marquis pay sixty pounds for them.⁽¹⁾

In the Appendix (No. xxv), will be found a Letter with curious particulars of the Burial of her Husband at Bedwyn in 1660, and (No. xxvi,) a Herald Painter's Bill for a great deal of finery at her own funeral in 1674.

One of her daughters, Lady Mary Seymour, married Heneage Finch, 2nd Earl of Winchilsea: and one of their daughters, Lady Frances Finch, married Thomas Thynne, first Viscount Weymouth. To her the Duchess gave the moiety of the Irish Estates of Devereux, Earl of Essex, which has descended to the Marquis of Bath.⁽²⁾ William, 3rd Duke of Somerset, having died 1671, a minor and unmarried, the Wulfhall and other estates, passed to his sister and heir, Lady Elizabeth Seymour, (above-mentioned) who in 1676 married Thomas, 2nd Earl of Ailesbury.

(1) Upon the decease of the Duchess, the Bed and other articles, plate, pictures, &c., were delivered by her Executor, Thomas Thynne, (1st Lord Weymouth) to Lady Elizabeth Seymour, whose receipt for the same, together with a list of them, is at Longleat. The tapestry would probably have been Queen Jane's handy work at her Father's House at Wulfhall.

(2) This also accounts for so many Names, Papers, and Documents relating to the Seymour Family being found at Longleat.

APPENDIX.

Original Documents relating to Wulfhall and the Seymours.

1. *Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, afterwards The Protector, Duke of Somerset.*
 - i. Survey of Wulfhall: *temp.* Edw. VI.
 - ii. Payments and Wages to Household there.
 - iii. Carpenter's work for alterations at the Palace of Westminster, against the Coronation of Q. Jane Seymour.
 - iv. Expenses of Entertainment of K. Henry VIII. and his Nobility at Wulfhall, August, 1539. Gratuities and Rewards.
 - v. Extract from the Earl of Hertford's Account Books, illustrative of Domestic Life, Prices, &c., viz.:
 1. Travelling Expenses.
 2. Sports and Amusements.
 3. Rewards and Gratuities.
 4. New Year's Gifts.
 5. For his young son, Edward.
 6. Salaries, Fines, Payments to the Crown, &c.
 7. Miscellaneous Payments.
 8. Receipts.

- vi. Notice of another Visit of K. Henry VIII. to Wulfhall in 1543.
- vii. Easton Priory, near Pewsey.
- viii. Letters relating to the intended building of a House by the Protector Somerset, at Bedwyn Brail.

2. *Edw. Seymour, Earl of Hertford, Son of Protector Somerset.*

- ix. Letters from Wm. Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, Master of the Wards, and Anne (Stanhope) widow of Protector Somerset, to Sir John Thynne about her son's affairs.
- x. Earl of Hertford's Statement to the Lord Treasurer, about his Lands.
- xi. Ditto Statement sent to Sir Francis Walsingham about the Fine of £15000.
- xii. Letter of Earl of Hertford to the Council from prison ; and Letter from Lady Katharine Grey to her husband.
- xiii. Account of the Bible used in the Tower by the Earl of Hertford and Lady Katharine Grey. Found at Longleat.
- xiv. Letters from the Earl of Hertford to Sir John Thynne, about Wulfhall.
- xv. Tottenham Lodge ; The Household there, A.D. 1582. Letter from R. Smyth, the Chaplain, to the Earl of Hertford.
- xvi. Mr. Robert Tutt's Letter to the Earl of Hertford, describing Q. Elizabeth's kindness to his two sons.
- xvii. Frances Howard, the Earl's second wife, to him. Queen Elizabeth's fall from her horse.

3. *William Seymour, Marquis of Hertford and Duke of Somerset, Great Grandson of the Protector.*

- xviii. Message from Wm. Seymour to Lady Arabella, suggesting the prudence of breaking off their proposed marriage.
- xix. Letter from Sir Wm. Monson to the E. of Salisbury about the capture of Lady Arabella Stuart.

- xx. Memorandum of Lady Arabella's clandestine marriage, on the fly-leaf of Mr. Hugh Crompton's Account Book, found at Longleat.
- xxi. William Seymour's Confession (from Tanner MSS., Oxford).
- xxii. Letter from Wm. Seymour's Grandfather, the Earl of Hertford, to him when abroad: and another from the same to the Earl of Salisbury.
- xxiii. Warrant signed by K. Charles I., for the Corpse of Robert Lord Beauchamp (son of William, Marquis of Hertford) to pass from London to Bedwyn.
- xxiv. Receipt for the value of the Tapestry and Bed-room Furniture worked by Q. Jane Seymour.
- xxv. Letter with Particulars of Funeral of Wm. Duke of Somerset at Great Bedwyn.
- xxvi. The Herald-painters' Bill at the Funeral of Frances (Devereux), widow of Wm. 2d Duke of Somerset. May 7, 1674. (1/)

No. I.

Survey of Wulfhall, *temp*: Edw. VI. [From the Register of Protector Somerset's Estates in Co. Wilts.]

"To the said Mannor appertayneth 1263 acres 3 yards a half: wherof 2 acres and half a yard be gardyne and orchard and therof half an acre lyeth in a gardyne within the walls and half a yard lyeth in the gardyne next the said gardyne. And 12 lugges lye in the orchard called Cole-house orchard: And an acre lyeth in the gardyne callyd the Great Palyd gardyne: And half a yard lyeth in the gardyne called My Young Lady's gardyne. And another half yard lyeth in the gardyne called Myn Olde Lady's gardyne. And 126 acres be arrable, and every acre is worth by the year 12d. And therof 60 acres lye in the fyld callyd the Great Cleye; and 16 in the Little Cleye. And 50 acres in the

(1.) All these Documents [except No. xxi.] are at Longleat.

fyld called the East Cleye. And 14 acres be mede. And every acre is worth by the yere 3s. 4d. And thereof 4 acres lye in the Mede callyd the West Mede. And 6 acres in the Mede callyd the Well Mede: And 4 in the Mede called the East Mede. And 1122 acres be pasture: and every acre is worth by the yere 2 shillings. And therof 240 acres lye in the Parke callyd the Soden Park: and 20 acres in another Parke callyd Horse Parke. And 3 acres in Pound Close. And 60 acres lye in the Brome close and Ridge-lands, and 30 acres in Wulfhalls close. And 2 acres in a close callyd Ladelwell-pound, with a small copse growing there, and 200 acres lye in Fwarrants Court, the half wherof belongeth to the Lord Fwarrant.⁽¹⁾ And 300 acres lye in the parke called Topenhays. And 40 acres lye in a Parke callyd Red deer Parke. And 60 acres lye in a close called Horse Sonds and 20 acres in Little Sonds. And 3 acres in the close called Sheryng Close and 4 in a close called West Court. And 100 acres lye in a close called the Bowden and 40 acres lye upon Topenhan Hyll, and it is pasture for sheep."⁽²⁾

No. II.

Payments and Wages to the Chaplain, and certain Servants at Wulfhall,
in 1537.

	By the Year.		
	£	s.	d.
To Sir James the priest (of the Chapel)...	...	2	0 0
" Grene the Bailly	1	6 8
" Vince the Keeper of the Home Park	...	1	6 8
" William the Grubber	2	0 0
" John Wynbolt the under-grubber	...	0	13 4
" John, Carter at Wulfhall	1	0 0
" Wynter, his felowe	1	0 0

(1) Close to Crofton (or, as it is usually pronounced, Crauton) is a farm called now Free-warren, which, however, is a corruption of the name of an ancient owner: for in 1299 [27 Edw. I.] William Fitzwarren, and in 1479 [19 Edw. IV.] Fulk Fitzwarren, died seised of the Manor of Crofton [I.P.M.] Before this family it had belonged, in 1283, to William de Braboeuf [I.P.M.]

(2) The Protector Somerset's Account Books mention that he made large plantations at the Great Dych and the New Dych: also a large pond which cost £43 15s. 10d: and a Hare Warren at Wexcombe, in 1553. Also that he dyked the springs at Titcombe and near Doddsdown Bush. Doddsdown lies between the wood called Wilton Brail and the Hamlet of Wilton. On it was formerly a gibbet, where a man was hanged for murdering a woman in the wood.

To Gorway the Shepheard att Wulfhall...	...	1	6	8
" Edy of the Day-house...	...	1	0	0
" Jone Cocks her felowe	...	1	0	0
" Henry Bryan, Curatt at Eston for this				
quarter, after £6 Os. Od. by the yere	...	1	10	0
" Christopher, keeper of the great horses	...	2	0	0
To the seven females.				
				By the Year.
Winifred Holt	...	2	0	0
Ann Coles, nurse to my Lord Beauchamp	...	2	13	4
Mr. Edward Seymour's nurse	...	2	0	0
Margery Garret	...	1	6	8
Margery Gilman	...	1	0	0
Elizabeth Burde	...	0	18	0
Awdry laundress	...	1	0	0

No. III.

Carpenter's work for alterations at the Palace of Westminster against the
Coronation of Queen Jane Seymour.

"EXTRACT from the Accounts of James Nedam, the King's Surveyor, relating to the
expense incurred at Westminster for the Coronation of Queen Jane Seymour."

"Anno XXVIII. R. Hen. VIII. (1536.)

"THE KYNG'S PALIS OF WESTMINSTER AGENST THE CORONATION OF QUENE JANE.

"PAYMENTS made and paid by me James Nedam, Clerke and Surveyor Generall of Our Sovereign Lord the King's Works, for works done at his Palis off Westminster by his Grace's commandment, agenst the Coronation of the Quene, as well in wages to artyficers, laborers, clarks, purveyors and others, allso for Emptions and Necessarys bought requisite and necessary for the said Worcks with carying and re-carying of the same; As the particuler parts thereof more playnlye doethe appere. That is to saye—From Sonnday the xxvijth daye of August inclusive unto Sonneday, the xxiiijth daye of September exclusive by the space of four weeks.

CARPENTERS

WORCKYNG as well of and upon the takyng downe of all the offices in the greate hall within the said palis there, as also makyng of dyvers offyces with skaffolds for paynters, plasterers, and glasyers to worcke upon. Moreover for the workyng and makyng of dyverse frames for sundre offices, the Comyn Kechyn, boyling-house, skaldyng-house, and the workyng-house: with makyng of the Pastrye, larderers and hachell-house. As also makyng of Tables and Tressells for the sayd offices. And not only preparyng the said hall with Dormy Trestles and plancks for cords upon bothe the sydes of the same hall; and makyng the stayres goyng up to the Kyng's Benche and the Chancery to the highe tables and makyng a ~~hal~~-place there, with boarding and flowering the commyn place at the surveying place, in the said hall, but also makyng and setting up all manner of necessarys within the presint of the said palis. Furthermore in makyng of Rayles for Raylyng the Highe waye on both sydes from the said Hall doore throughe the palis, the Kings strete and the Sanctuarye unto the West doore of the Abby there. And makyng a skaffold from the said West doore unto the steppes before the Highe Awlter, with also framyng a Skaffold before the same awlter, with makyng and framyng dyverse partitions to staye the people from pressyng in at the same tyme of the said Coronation.

half-face

No. IV.

Entertainment of K. Henry VIII. at Wulfhall, August, 1539.

WOULFHALL.—SETTERDAY THE IXTH DAYE OF AUGUSTE, THE KING'S MAJESTY WITH HIS NOBILITY AND HOLE HOUSHOLD, MY LORD AND MY LADY WITH THARE HOLE HOUSEHOLD.

			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
THE BAK- HOUSE: PAINTERIE AND PASTRIE.	Fyne Floure ..	Bought of the King's officers fyne flour and for the Lords (4 bush.) ...	0	7	0	1	12	3
	Breade	Do. (20 doz.) ...	0	20	0			
	Meall	Ditto: for the Pastrie (6 bushels) ...	0	5	3			

(1) This Extract refers only to Carpenter's work. Eighteen men were charged for at different wages, from 12d. to 7d. a day. Sum total £xii xiiis. xd. Mr. Nedam, the King's Surveyor General of Works, received as the ordinary fee for his own office 2s. 6d. a day, with 6d. a day allowed for a Clerk: and extra allowance for riding about the country to the King's various castles and palaces, and also for boat hire on the Thames.

BUTTERIE.	Beere and Aile	Bought of the Kyng's officers, bere					}	4	0	0	
	.	and aill, 2 tuns, 3 hogsheads	...	...	...	0 75 0		
	Ashen cupps..	Do. 150	0 5 0					
CELLER.	Gascon Wine..	Do. 1 pipe	3 0 0	}	3	3	4	
	Swete Wine...	Do.	...	...	...	0 3 4		
SPICERY.	Spices	Of my lord's store, suger for the waferie (8 lbs.)					}	6	0	10	
		Of do., for jelly stuff, cloves, zinger, cinamon, suger, nutmegge, graynes, ¹									
		turnsole, ² &c.									
		Of do. for the confectionary, pistads and carraways									
	Fruites	Of the King's provision for Ipocras, ³ for Saturday, Sondag, and Monday, ginger whole, &c.					}	4	9	10	
		Of the King's provision for the confectionary, pears 600									
CHAUNDRY.	Wax ...	Of the King's provision, 16 lbs. of pure wax wrought in quarriers ⁴ , priketts and sises					}	8/-	0	15	6
		Wax wrought in torches, 20 lbs.,									
	White lights.	Of the King's provision, parishe candles ⁵ , 4 doz.								1	0	6

1. "Grains of Paradise."—Small pungent seeds brought from the East Indies.

2. "Turnsole."—A species of Heliotrope, of which "Gerard's Herbal," p. 334 (edit. 1636), gives this quaint account:—"With the smaller Torneseale they in France doe die linnen rags and clouts into a perfect purple colour, wherewith cooks and confectioners do colour jellies, wine, meats, and sundry confections: which clouts in shops be called Torneseales after the nature of the herbes. The name," says Gerard, "was given by reason of its flowering in the summer solstice, at which time the Sun being farthest gone from the Equinoctial Circle, returned to the same."

3. "Hippocras."—This was not a pure wine, but a compound of red or white wine with spices, as cinnamon and sugar, strained through a woollen bag. The name is either derived from the compound being called (as it was) "Vinum Hippocratis," the wine of that ancient physician; or from the woollen strainer, called by apothecaries Hippocrates's sleeve. Should any reader wish to know of a receipt for making this, there is one in "Nares's Glossary."

4. "Quarriers," "quarries," or "quarriors," were square lumps of wax with a wick in the centre.

5. This word is sometimes written "praise," "peris," or "parische." "Candells wax" and "candells peris," frequently occur in household accounts of much earlier date.

KECHYN.	{	Linge ...	... Of the King's provision	... 2 10 0	{	
		Accats ⁶ ...	Of do., sea-fish, 5 potts, 50/-; 8 pikes,			
			12/-; 5 salmon, 20/-; 8 grilz, 16/-;			
			7 tenches, 4/3; 9 lopsters, 6/8;			
			breams, plaice, butter, eggs, 200,			
			3/-. &c. ... in all	7 10 7		
		Saultes...	Of my lord's store, congers, pike, eles,			
			trouts, bremes, carps, tenches,			18 18 9
			roches, perches, moletts, eggs, &c.	6 18 2		
			David Hobs, for xi pasteys of salmon	0 10 3		
John Armstronge, for one barrell of						
	sturgeon, by him bought...	1 13 0				
	John Colly, for mustard bought	0 1 3				
	Of mylord's store, vineger, 10 gallons,					
	3/4; and verjuice, 4 gall., 16d.	0 4 8				
WOODYARD, AND SQUYLLA- RIE ⁷ .	{	Of my lord's store ...	Of my lord, x quarters coles, 10/-;	{	3 0 0	
			x loads of wood, 10/-; 8 loads of			
			rushes, 40/ ⁸ ...			
Messes ⁹ for thys Supper by estimacion					... £37 15 8	

6. "Accats." meaning provisions, delicacies, purchased. From the Fr. *acheter* to buy. The "Clerk of the Acaterie" was an Officer in the King's Household. The words are now altered to a "Caterer," and "Cates."

7 "Squyllerie": Meaning *scullery*, from the Fr. *escuelle*, a dish.

8. "Rushes."—These were in lieu of carpets. In another part of the Account Book is: "Paid to Robert Smith, Rushman, for 40 dozen Rushes of him bought for the straweing of my Lord's House at Beauchamp Place, London, from 24 Novr. to the last of Aprill, 60/0."

9. "Messes," strictly speaking, were allowances carefully doled out, like the "Commons" in a college hall. Here it seems to signify that dinner was provided on a rough calculation for 200. A mess is thought by some to have been generally an allowance for four persons: but that the King should have 800 persons to provide with regular meals, on a short visit like this, seems incredible.

The King and his Nobility appear to have supped apart from the Earl and his family, as there is a separate but equally precise entry of a similar fish-supper for "my Lord, my Lady, and their Household;" costing £8. Sixty at dinner, 70 at supper, and 130 dishes.

On the next day, Sunday the 10th August, the King's diet for the whole day amounted to £71 2s. 5d., and the number of "messes," 470. The items for the Bakehouse, Buttry and Celler are similar in kind, but larger in amount than on the day before. The Cookery in the Kitchen included no longer fish only, but meats and game;—viz.;

Six beeves (oxen), valued at 30 shillings each, in all £9 : and 24 muttons at 3s. each, in all £3 12s. 0d.

Of the King's provision, 12 veales (calves) cost 52/- ; 5 cygnets, 33/4 ; 21 great capons, 42/- ; 7 good capons, 9/4 ; 11 Kentish capons, 7/4 ; 3 dozen and 6 coarse capons, 13/- ; 70 pullets, 13/9 ; 91 "chekyn," 7/10 ; 38 quails, 12/8 ; 9 mewes, 6/0 ; 6 egretts, 7/0 ; 2 shields of brawn ; 7 swans, 46/8 ; 2 cranes, 12/0 ; 2 storks, 10/0 ; 3 pheasants, 7/6 ; 40 partridges, 26/8 ; 4 pea-chicks, 2/8 ; 21 snyts (snipe), 2/7 ; 2 doz. larks, 1/4 ; 6 brewes, 7/4 ; 28 gulls "rated for the feeding of them."

In my Lord's own Bill of fare for this day (amounting to £15 10s. 6d.) are mentioned "Two pots of 'sampere' (samphire), 2/ : Two carcasses of beef at £1 6s. 8d. each ; and Two of mutton at 4/0 each. Messes for the day, 146.

On Monday, 11th August, the King's provision cost £48 4s. 7d. Olives, prunes, "great raisins," as distinguished from currants, occur among the spicery. 3 dozen and six sparrows cost 2/0. A Kid 2/0. 48 steps of butter 2/0. Messes for the whole day, 440.

On Tuesday, 12th August, messes for the whole day 230 at the King's table. 100 at my Lord's.

The expenses of the whole week, including the King's visit, amounted to £288 19s. 10d. : a sum which of course represents a great deal more (about six times as much) of the money of our day. Of the comparative value some estimate may be formed by the fact that wheat was then 6s. 8d. the quarter, malt 4s., oats 2s. 8d., hops 12s. the hundred, "with the carriage." The account is exceedingly minute ; every article, even to "wick yarn 14 lbs. at 2s. the lb.," "fine cotton wick 6 lbs. at 4s. 6d.," "rosin 14 lbs. at 6d. the lb.," was carefully accounted for : and if not specially bought for the occasion, was taken out of store, and its value charged as expense.

The ordinary weekly expenditure on victuals, &c., under the different heads above given, at Tottenham Park or at Wulfhall, for my lord and lady, their visitors and servants, was about £22. The number dining and supping is daily recorded. The hour for the earlier meal, *then* called dinner, was at ten o'clock in the morning, the later meal, then called supper, about five or six in the afternoon.

Only two meals per diem appear in the account of the king's visit to Wulfhall.

Gratuities or "Rewards" bestowed by the Earl of Hertford upon the occasion of the King's visit.

"Among the King's household servants at my lord's commandment, at his grace's being at Wulfhall the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th of August, with £4 to the clerk of the kitchen and master cook 30 13 4

"To the King's sagbutts, the 12th of August, 20s., the violles 20s., the flutes 15s., the taberet 5s., the trumpetts 15s., the purveyor of the cellar 3s. 4d., Mr. Blunt, gentleman usher, and others, in all									
									7 18 4
"To a coke and a turnebroche (<i>Turnspit</i>) that did labor in the kychin during the King's being at Wulfhaull									
									0 7 8
"To Philip Cornish 10s., John Bedell 11s. 3d., Miles Range 5s., John Miles 5s., and John Cox 5s., in reward to them for their paynes taken in paynting the roff of my lord's barn, with fretts upon canvas, agenst the King's coming to Wulfhaull, 9th August									
									1 16 4
"In reward to Master Hungerford's man for bringing my lord partridges, a capon, pigeons and brawn									
									0 3 4
"To diverse men that brought my lord presents from diverse of his friends, as venison, wild fowl, &c., against the King's coming to his house at Wulfhaull, where my said lord defraid him for Saturday supper, Sunday and Monday all day, and Tuesday dinner the 12th August, with money given to diverse persons for carriage of letters to my lord's said frends for the same									
									13 9 2
It would seem, from the next item, that his Majesty's officers having supplied part of the provisions for the King's table, also paid the earl for the hides, &c., of the animals taken out of Wolfhaull farm-yard.									
"Received by the hands of Mr. Cofferer of the King's house, 25 Sept., for the hides, fells and tallow of the beifes and multonnes expended whiles the King was at Wulfhaull."									
									8 7 10

No. V.

Extracts from the Steward's Account Books of Edw. Seymour, Earl of Hertford (Protector Somerset), illustrative of Domestic Life, Prices, &c., of that period.

1. TRAVELLING EXPENSES, &c.

For hay, litter, and provender for 24 horses of my lord's own for 2 nights, 7 & 8 Oct. standing at Newbury in my lord's journey from Wulfhall to London									
									0 20 0
For 20 horses of my lord's servants 2 nights									
									0 13 4
For men hired to dress my Lord's horses at Newbury									
									0 0 4
To Master Winchcombe's carders when my lord lay there 19 Sept.									
									0 17 6

For hay, litter, and provender for my lord's mule standing at the Goat in Strand 30 days	0	12	6
For making a seat of velvet fringed with gold	0	1	4
For 6 cop nailes gilt to set on the head of the saddle, 8d., for a gilt head to the same saddle 16 8	0	17	4
For making a pillion cloth of velvet, with 3 yards of bokeram to line the same	0	3	6
4th September 1537 Paid for hey, litter, and provender for xx horses one night, when my Lord lay at my lord Stourton's	0	8	4
Paid for the same for xxxviii horses of my lord's trayne 2 nights when my lord lay at my lord Chief Justice's (Fitz James) house called Redlinch viz. 5 & 6 Sept.	0	29	6
Paid for the same for xxxvi horses of my lords trayne standing in dyvers places when my lord lay one night at my Lord Hungerford's (Farley Castle) viz. 7 Sept.	0	14	8
For like horse mete for xxxix horses for one night when my lord lay at Sir Henry Long's 8 Sept.	0	15	6
For the same, standing one night in the Abbey of Malmesbury and in the Town there			
For xxxvii horses, one night when my lord lay at Bradstock 10 Sept.			
For xl. horses, One night at the Devizes when my lord lay at Mr. Ernely's, 12th Sept.			
For xxxv. dozen horse-bread expended whiles my lord lay at Wulphaulle, seven days as well before his progress as after, Aug. and Sept. ...	0	35	0
Thomes Wolf for sweeping and clensing my lord's Chamber at Windsor, and setting up bords to stop out the wind	0	0	12
To Mother Nevile for a fireshovel 8d., a pair of bellouse 4d.	0	0	12
Paid for 400 harness-bells bought at London at 12d. the hundred ...	0	4	0
Paid 19 April for shoeing my horses agenst the bringing uppe of my Lord's revenues, 1s. 4d. And for a male pylyon (1), and two male brasses for the carrying of the said revenues	0	0	12
(1539 March) Reward to my Lord Cobham's cook that dressed my Lord's dinner at Gravesend	0	3	4
For the hire of 17 horses from Gravesend to Dover for my Lord and others of his Company on his Journey to Calais	0	35	4
For cords to my lord's mail and mending his posting cushion ...	0	1	4

(1.) A pillion to carry a *maille* or portmanteau.

Paid for a wagon to carry my lorde from Sandgate to Rinsham			
12 March	0	1	4
For lodgings for my lord and his company attending him at Dover			
2 nights	1	3	
To Bailif's widow at Calais for lodging of my lord Mr Howard			
and Roger Smith 3 weeks	1	4	0
To John Nele and other his fellows for my Lord's passage, and			
diverse other attending him, from Calais to Dover, in two passengers	106	10	
To Mr Semor's man for his and two carters and 4 horses expenses			
bringing a wagon from Wulfhall to Twickenham, to carry my Lord			
Beauchamp from thence to Elvetham (Hants), and returning to Wulfhall			
again	0	19	3

2. SPORTS AND AMUSEMENTS.

For feeding of 3 greyhounds for 31 days	0	7	9
For feeding of 4 couple of spaniels being a-brode hawking, 6 days	0	1	10
Do. a cast of leonards (<i>lanner-hawks</i>)	0	1	6
Paid to a fox taker 23 Feb. for taking of foxes in Tottenham Park			
and in the Forest	0	2	0
Paid to Morse and Grammatts for helpyng to take the wylde swyne in			
the Forest 4d; and for 8 hempen halters to bynd their legs 4d.; and for			
drink for them that helped to take them 4d.			
To Edmund Coke and Wm. Morse and others for sekyng wild swyne			
in the Forest 2 days (1)	0	2	6
To Thomas Christopher for his costes when he caryed the two wilde			
bores to the Court to my Lord att Wynsor Allhallowen even	0	3	4
Paid for my costs when I rode to Trowbridge to my Lord with the			
spaniels that I toke from the Byshope of Salysbury's partrydge taker ...	0	3	5
Paid to Thomas Potenger, my lord's falconer for watching the hawks			
in Collingbourne woods this year for 13 weeks, 6d. the day and night (1544)	0	46	0
To a partridge-taker which brought partridges to store my Lord's			
Grace's ground, 30 Jan ^r	0	0	4
To Mr. Sidenham's man for the same	0	2	0
Edward King for feeding of partridges that came from Jersey and			
were sent to Wulfhall	0	1	4

(1) At this Item, there is a Note in the Margin:—"Every keeper and woodward hereafter to seke in his walk, and no such allowance to be had."

Pd. to a Fesaunt-taker which toke fesaunts in Bentley woodds by my Lord's commaundment the 13 April last	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	4
In reward to a keeper of Windsor Forest that brought my lord word of a red deer lodged at Elvetham (one of the Earl's seats in Hants)	...	...	...	...	...	0	6	0
To Edward Woulphe Capitayne of my lord's pinnace the Phoenix, towards rigging and victualling the same	...	..	...	...	...	69	9	8
Delivered to Mr. Sapcotes at Salisbury the 8th May, to take unto my Lord, whiche he did lose att pennyprike ⁽¹⁾	0	25	0
Item, that my Lord did lose at shooting unto the Bishop of Rochester, 22 July at Guilford	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	4
Recd. at Hartford Place of my lord the 13th Oct. which he dyd wyn at cards same night he dyd sup at Lambeth with my lord of Canterbury	...	...	...	...	...	0.35	0	0
						35	0	0

3. "REWARDS," *i.e.* GRATUITIES.

To a servant of the Earl of Shrewsbury for bringing 2 pasties of red deer	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	4
To a servant of the Master of the Horse for bringing a doe	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
To the King's master cook for his paynes in teaching Jeffery Oliver	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	40	0
To a servant of Sir John Dudley's that brought my Lady a picture of Queen Jane	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	8
To one that brought my lady puddings	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
To the Sexton of St. Stephen's at Westminster for a standing for my lady when the Marquis of Exeter was reyned (arraigned) 3 Dec.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	4
To the minstrels of my Lord of Rutland	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	4
To Mrs Denyer, midwife, and nurse, when my lady christened him a child	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	0	20	0
To Palmer for bringing my lord certain letters from Wolfhall	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	8

4. NEW YEAR'S GIFTS.

To Master Jennings of the King's Privy chamber for bringing my lord the King's New year's gift the 1st January	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	45	0
Gifts to the Officers of the King's Household including the Children of the Kitchen and Scullery, 10/0: the Sagbutt 15/0, the Players 7/6, the Jugler 3/4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	13	4

(1) "Penny-prick," says Strutt (*English Pastimes*) "appears to have been a common game in the 15th century, and is reprov'd by a religious writer of that period." Strutt does not describe it.

Also the Poticarie 5/0, My Lord Prince's Players 7/6, my Lord of Suffolk's Minstrels, 5/0, my Lord of Derby's Players 6/4, my Lord's own minstrels 33/4; my Lord Chancellor's minstrels 6/8, my Lord's own players 13/4 And many others	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	33	17	6
To the queristers of Poules (choristers of St. Paul's) for playing before my lord	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
To My LADY MARY (<i>afterwards</i> Q. Mary) in Riolles (<i>Royals</i>); for her New Year's Gift	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	12	6
To my Lady Mary's servant for bringing my Lord a New Year's gift	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	20	0
To the King's Walshe minstrel (<i>Welsh Harper</i>)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
To my Lord's Confessor	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	4

5. THE EARL'S CHILD, EDWARD.

To the keeper of Ludgate and Algate for letting John Smith in and out in the night when he went for Mrs. Midwife	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	8
June. To Edward Lloyd for hanging the chapel at Beauchamp Place for the christening of Mr. Edward Semor my lord's second son	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	20	0
For 3 ells of Holland clothe to dress the Font withall the day of the Christening of Mr. Edw. Seymour	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	6
In reward to Mrs Berwick, my lady being her gossip (⁽¹⁾) 31 August	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	22	6
Do. to Mrs Hungerford, my lady being her gossip, 13th Sept.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	22	6
Pd. to Robert Topping for making of a cote for Mr. Edward Seymour when he was delivered to the Pryor of Sympryngnam 12d: for making of his hose 12d: and his doublets 8d.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	8
For 7 yards and a half of fryse for a cote clothe for Mr. George Seymor agenst Crysma's at 8d. the yard, 5s: and for a yerde of coten to lyne the upper bodyes of the same cote 6d: and for the making of the same 12d. And for 2 yards of black fustyan for a doblett for hym att 9d. the yerde 2s. 3d: and for 2 yerdes of coten to lyne the same doblett 12d: and for canvas 2d: and for making of the same doblett 8d.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	7

(1) *e.i.* Godmother to a child. The word is derived from "God," and "sib," (*akin*). The belief was, that by contracting spiritual obligations to a child, they became "sib," or "akin, in God," to one another. (See Trench's English, p. 153.) The word occurs in Chaucer:—"Natheles, your kindrede is but a fer (distant) kindrede; they be but litel *sibbe* to you, and the kin of youre enemies be nigh *sibbe* to them." (Tale of Melibæus.)

6. SALARIES, FINES, PAYMENTS TO CROWN, &c.

28 Oct. 30 H. VIII.

To Wm. Awlrey of Canford, Co. Dorset, from the Earl of Hertford, a whole year's fee for exercising the offyce of the High Bailiwick of Trow-bridge 3 0 10

To Henry Waldurne, Clerk of New Sarum Chantry Priest of Godmerston's Chantry, due unto him on St. Luke the Evangelist's day, for the annuity or yearly rent granted out of the late Monastery of Easton to the foresaid Chantry 0 13 4

Paid to me (i.e. The Steward, A.D. 1536) my Fee for the Ranger-ship of the Forest of Savernak in redy money ; paid always by the Warden ... 0 26 8

To the Abbot of Malmesbury's servant for bringing my Lord his Fee of the said House 0 6 8

To Lewis Brecknock, late Prior of (Monkton) Farley 0 15 0

To the Bailiff of Bradford, for certeyn money called Paulsomeve, by the yere ⁽¹⁾ 0 3 4

For the indenture and release of Crofton Fitzwarren purchased of the Earl of Bath 0 10 0

To the Hundred of Kynwardestone for my Lord's Fine, and for non-suing to the Courte of the said Hundred for the manor of Wulf-hall ; payable once a year 0 0 12

Lykewyse to the Hundred for a Fine of a ground called Fitzwarren's ... 0 1 4

Lykewise for certen moneys due to the Queen's grace for the House of Easton (i.e. Easton Priory, near Pewsey) 0 3 3

Paid [1537] to William Franklin, Deane of the King's College of Windesor for the amending of highways, and other deeds of Charity as shall stand with the King's Majesty's pleasure to appoint for the soul's health of the late Erles of Combreland, Southampton and Sussex departed, Knights of the Most Noble Order of the Garter 7 10 0

The same for the late King of Scots 0 50 0

(1) "Paulsomeve." This name, so spelled in the original, is a corruption of "Palmson-Eve," and means a payment of certain money annually on Palm Sunday Eve, not (as might have been expected from the name) to the Ecclesiastical but to the Civil authorities at Bradford. The origin of this payment is unknown. See Rev. W. H. Jones's Hist. of B. on Avon. Wilts, Arch. Mag. V. 69.

7. MISCELLANEOUS PAYMENTS.

Paid to my Lord of Canterbury, for a gown of Saten for my Lady furred with powdered armyns (ermine) 106/8d and for a foot-cloth and harnes of velvet for a mule 4 0 0: in all to him 8 July								9 6 8
Paid at the month's mind of my Lady Dame Elizabeth Seymour (1) ...								0 55 4
Oct. 1. In reward to Robert of Moulsey for bringing my Lord word of the Birth of Prince Edward. (His sister Jane Seymour's son, afterwards K. Edw. VI.)								0 20 0
To two Sargents of Sarum; in reward which brought two fat oxen to my Lord's Grace presented by the Mayor and his Brethren								0 13 4
To doctor Bennet's man which kept and brought up the Red Deer which the said Dr. Bennet gave my Lord's Grace								0 8 0
And for bringing them to Wulfhall								0 0 12
To Maklyn and Pollard of Burbage for being at Wulfhall at Christmas with their instruments								0 3 4
In reward to Hance (2) that made Quene Jane's pycure 10 Sept. ...								0 10 0
Do. to Mr. Olive (3) the Kyng's Surgeon 11 Septr.								0 15 0
Do. to Crystofer Samone 10 Oct. for drawing out my lady's teeth ...								0 15 0
To Mr. Awdley by the hands of Edw. Woulf 30 Dec. for a sherte which my lady gave the King to his New Year's Gift								100s. 4d.
Pd. to Wm. Hunt the 4th June with letters to London to my Lord concerning the Rising and uproar at Potterne in Wiltshire the space of 3 days (1542)								0 4 0
For a box of <i>Manus Christi</i> (4) for my Lady								0 2 8
To John Soda for sundry medicines and conserves by him made for my lord and lady and 3 children								0 31 10
Anthony de Jerombassam for 4 Howboys of him bought								100s. 0d.

(1.) Month's Mind." One of those memorial days variously called "Mind Days," "Obits," or "Year's Mind," on which a Service in Church or Chantry-chapel was performed for the soul of some deceased Founder or Benefactor. Bequests of money were left for this purpose. The "Lady Elizabeth Seymour" here mentioned was the grandmother of Protector Somerset.

(2.) "Hance:" meaning probably Hans Holbein.

(3.) Probably Mr. Ayliffe, King Henry VIIIth's surgeon. (See Wiltshire Collections, p. 209.)

(4.) "*Manus Christi*." A kind of lozenge, composed of white sugar, rose-water, and powder of pearls, cast into little cakes and gilded: on white paper anointed with oil of sweet almonds. The virtues of this innocent preparation were supposed to be considerable. For example, in Turner's Herbal, an old quaint work of 1568,—“A Recipe for the ‘Fever quotidian, or dayly Fever:’ Take the best aqua vite that ye can get, half a pound; put therein the whitest Mary of Walwurt that ye can get, two unces: let it stepe therein 3 dayes, and give the patient thereof to drink. But marke well, If it woulde chafe him too much, then temper him the drinke wyth a litle other wyne or drinke, and give him sometime *Manus Christi*.”

For a case of lether for my lord's poleax...	...	...	...	...	0	2	4
For 9 skins and 2 doz. packthread to begin a fishing net for my lord...					0	10	0
To Thomas Alsop for losinges (<i>lozenges</i>), treacle and other <i>poticary stuff</i>							
for my lord	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
					0	20	2

8. RECEIPTS.

Of Mr. William Button of Alton 19 April for my Lord's aker of wood
in the Forest of Savernak, of the Queen's Grace's Copse ... 0 43 4

Received of the Prior of St. Margaret's by Marlborough for my Lord's
fee for being highe stuarde to the Howse, for one hole yere ... 0 13 4

Received for the thything hay⁽¹⁾ of the portions belonging to Bedwyn that
my lord hath, as hereafter: viz.:

First, for the portion of West Grafton	...	...	...	0	13	4
" Do. of East Grafton	...	...	...	0	10	0
" Do. of West-combe	...	...	...	0	13	4
" Do. of Crofton	...	...	...	0	3	8
" Do. for Martin	.	...	...	0	2	0
					0	42 4

Reed. my lord's fee for the Constableness of the Castle of Brystowe ... 14 3 4

Reed. for the release of a steer taken in the Forest as a strayer ... 0 0 12

Receved of Gorway of Bedwyn for one porker that was messeld nott
holsome to be etten in the house ... 0 2 8

Receyved of a olde outeside of a gowne of frysadew of the goodes of my
olde mistriss ... 0 2 0

Received for iij olde horses comprised in the inventorie of my olde
maister Sir John Seymour the one called Huddleston, another Vycary, and
the balde baye Thiller ... 0 13 0

(1) This relates to the Tithe of Gt. Bedwyn Parish held by the Protector by Lease from the Dean and Chapter of Sarum. Among other memoranda relating to this subject (which seems to have been one very fertile of disputes) there is one, that the Dean and Chapter of Sarum used to claim the Tithes of all the King's Forests in Wilts under (as they alleged) a grant from K. Henry the 2nd.

The Manor of Grafton was bought by the Earl of Hertford of Thomas Barnardiston in 28 H. VIII. for £441 3s. 10d.

In 37 Hen. VIII. (1545) he bought from Sir Edw. Darrell all his lease interest in Wexcombe, Bedwyn and Burbage; and obtained the Reversion from the Crown. Some quarrel afterwards fell out about this; and a marginal note on an old paper relative to it speaks of Sir Edward Dorrell as a common cozenor; and of his having been "brought before the Star-Chamber for abusing Hyde." Out of Wexcombe manor £35 annual rent was at that time paid to the Sheriff of Wilts for the Crown.

Received in redy mony at the calling unto God's mercy of the late wurshipfull Lady, dame Elizabeth Seymor decessed	0	32	8
Reed. of the right wurshipfull Lady Margery Seymor for one quarter's borde for her Ladyshipp and her famyly att £20 the year. [This was the Protector's Mother.]	5	0	0

No. VI.

King Henry viii at Wulfhall in A.D. 1543.

From the following Bill K. Hen. 8 appears to have been at Wulfhall or in the
neighbourhood in this year.

"The charges of the Kyng's servants at Burbage the xxth of June
Anno xxxvth.

	s.	d.
Item for the fyrst nyght at sopper and yn the mornyng for drynk	v.	iiii.
Item for Dynner the nexte daye	ii.	viii.
Item for brekefast in the last daye in the morning	"	ix.

No. VII.

Easton Priory, near Pewsey: sometimes called Easton Royal.

The Protector (when Lord Beauchamp) lived occasionally at Easton Priory near
Pewsey, property obtained at the dissolution of monasteries. There were 3 parcels
Easton Drewes, Easton Priors, & Easton Bradenstoke (having belonged to that Priory)
Wick Manor, and part of Milton belonged to the House at Easton.

The account books mention Lord Beauchamp's being here, when Lord Great
Chamberlain, for 9 days ending the 14 Oct. 35 H. 8. (1543); the expenses amounting
to about £30. Wheat was then 10s. 8d. the quarter. Malt at 4s. 8d. Among the
"Spices" bought are reckoned "Biskets" and| "Carraways," Turnesoll, Saunders⁽¹⁾,
Dates & Capers. A Beef of my Lord's own store was valued at 26s. 8d. "Fresh
accats" were bought by Robert Dangell, "cater." Rushes for my Lord's chamber
and others, 7s. 8d.

(1) Saunders, Sandal wood, brought from the East Indies and used for colouring confections red,
as saffron was for yellow.

No. VIII.

Letters from Mr. Berwick, Mr. Bryan Tesh, and Mr. Arthur Roods (Agents and Bailiffs) to Sir John Thynne: concerning the enclosure of a Park and sundry preparations for Building a New Mansion for the Protector Somerset at Bedwyn Brail End. A.D. 1548, 1549.

MR. JOHN BERWICK, ⁽¹⁾ TO SIR JOHN THYNNE.

1548. 25th Nov. "After my most hartie comendacions, Theis shal be t' aunser your letters sent as well by Bryan as by Mr. Hartgill. First concerning the Demesnes about my Lord's grace's house at the Broyle End. We have enlarged the whole grownde as ye shall perceive. Fyrst, the meadow on the other side of the ponde towards Grafton is enlarged so high as the furlong goeth leaving space for a way which the Tenants of Wilton shall have from their village to theire common where we apoynted the other pond to be made betwene both the fields in the bottom: so that the meadow shall rise as high as the hedge where I would had it gon at the first, saving the wey aforsaid: so that now my Lord's Grace shall stand at the place where his house shal be and have the whole medowe in his eye, where before he should scarcely have seen it, but have looked over it. I doute not his Grace shall lyke it well in that point.

"Furder, we have taken in the Felde, Ryver, and medowe ground from Bushell's mylne unto the very back of the mylne at Bedwyne, which I have in lease of the Close of Sarum, and so from thens compassing over the field towards Bushell's close where our fyrst stakes were set, and so taking in that close and so strait through the wood and copice to the corner of the wood, beneath the great pit which was dygged within the wood at th' upper corner of the Broyle, beyond the springs, and so forth in the falling of the hill on the farther syde towards Ramphreis house as ye and we appointed. Saving we have taken in a gretter compas at the corner where the chief spring is, I meane where the conduit-house shall stand; and from thence strait over that felde to the close corner at Wilton's-town's end ⁽²⁾ viz. to the nether end of the lane which descendeth from the broke and from thence to the pond head next to

(1.) John Berwick, or Barwick, of Wilcot, near Pewsey, whose dau. and heir married Thomas Wroughton, son of Sir William Wroughton, of Broad Hinton, from whose family Wilcot has descended, to the present owner, Admiral Montagu. Mr. Berwick was an Agent to Protector Somerset. There is a short Pedigree of his Family in the Wilts Visitations of 1565 and 1623.

(2.) Wilton. This is a hamlet near Burbage. It is called in the Inquis, p.m. *Wolton*. The Wood of "*Wolton*" is mentioned in the Perambulation of Savernake, A.D. 1300 (Wilts A. Mag. iv. 204.) [Query, is not this the correct name, and a corruption of Wulph-town? See Hutchins's Dorset, i. 453.]

Wilton where the pale standeth, and so on the other side up the close to the upper ende of the medowe where we beganne, which is in compass 3 miles saving 110 lug.

And there is of woode ground within the compass 109 acres, 8 lug; and of medowe and other ground 476 acres 3 yerds and 27 lug: as shall appear by a mesure thereof sente by Bryan and mesured by Dowlte, John Androes and others, the best mesurers in these parts; but for lack of tyme they coulde not nombre or devide the medowe groundes, for that will aske leisure, for there will ryse a grete nombre of acres of medowe more upon the water between Bushell's mill and the mylne at Bedwyn town's end. Things cannot be perfectly certified upon such post haste. It is now bounden and compassid in myne opynyon very well; trusting that my Lord's Grace shall lyke the same. And whereas I perceive by Bryan that my Lord's Grace would have had the whole Broyle taken in, and so have compassed by the bottom next Ramphries house, that could not have been, for then the Tenants of Wilton⁽¹⁾ should have no maner of common for their Rudder beasts in that side which would have been to their utter undoing. They kept before this tyme in their common as they say 180 Rudder beasts with the helpe of the Broyle for which they paid to the Quene and to the farmer of Harden a very small rent; as I remember it is under a Noble: and if the whole wood and bottom aforesaid shoald be taken from them then they would keep none. I brake with the tenants afar off therein, but I perceive that should be much grief to them. And as it is an old saying, Inough is as good as a feste, I pray God we may find owte lands medowe and something to satisfy them for that which they shall now forego.

I sent to Barnardiston by his own servant and bailiff here three weeks past, that he should attend my Lordes Grace, and he is not as yet returned ageyn. I have also sent another of his servants so that I trust you shall heare of him shortlie. My Lord's Grace must go through with him forthwith, so that the Tenants whose landes we have taken in may sowe their barley crop there now or at our Lady day next, for otherwise they must be drevyn to sowe their *awne* (?) within the inclosure. Bushell's mylne and his whole grounds must be within the compas so that we must studdie where to settle him. We hav begunne a ditch on the further side of the medow towards Grafton as Bryan can declare you further therein. Ye must remember to send downe Hynde for his further advise howe the laborers shall dygg for the spring. Ye must also sende downe bryckmakers so that the cley may be dyggyde in season. I have wrytten to Mr Lyne to certefye my lorde's grace of the mettall mencioned in your letter. Concernyng the furzes of which my Lord's grace sent me a sample to be

(1.) Rudder beasts; a corruption from the A. Saxon "hryther" or "hruther," horned cattle. "Rother beasts," in Jacob's Law Dictionary.

set in the new hare warren, there is none to be gotten in these parts of that kynde or sorte as I can learn yet, but wee will sett the best we can finde. The wild bore, and the Red dere shal be sent next week.—From Hampton the 23 Novr.

2 —MR. BRYAN TESH, (OF WILTON, NEAR BURBAGE,) TO SIR JOHN THYNNE.

"1549. 30 March. Has received orders to set forward my Lord's Grace's works. He must of necessity have water before he can lay any foundations; so in the mean season while the plumber is getting ready for the same, he will clear the springs which are filled up with earth. And for that it hath bene declared unto my Lord's Grace that neyther Chalke nor Wilton stone will abyde the weather, ther is in the proof of them here good tokens of them bothe or at the least no cause of despayre in eyther of them. For of the chalke there is iij stones whose nether bed is made the paelment, so that these stones shovers out into brode spalters and thin, but th' other that is set with the right bed downwards, or that standyth joint by joint, as they call it, dothe remayne sound enough. And in the stone of Wilton consydering it was set green and unseasoned and being of the up moste of the quarr which is worste, it spalters out in thick peces and will not abyde; but now they be cum to great stones in the quarr that will make ashelour xvi or xvij inches high, and have brought him to a fair bed more workmanlyke then it was before, so that I trust within this fortnight or iij weekes we shall cum to good stone, for it fashoneth in every condition lyke unto the quarr at Mr. Kyngsmillès. The brickmakers have cast as much earth as will make xx hundred thousand bryks by estimation, but they tell me they will moulde none these iij wekes, so that we shall have none burned these vi wekes at least, but I will cause them if I can to begin this next week if the weather will hold up dry, and in the mean season before that he hath don all thes necessaries I will trace and set forth my lords grace's house according to the plat which my lord's grace resolved upon the last time, and so be ready to lay the foundation, and the labourers also which are about the dyke will be ready for that purpose about that time: and will go to London with a plat of all the levels of the courts and gardens. The pond, thanks be to God, will metely hold water, but it will do better by that time it hath settled a year. The dich about the bounds is in a grete forwardness and will be finished within these ten days, saving that piece between Croughton and Fitzwarrens which God send a prosperous success and all the rest of my lord's Grace's affayres with everlasting helthe unto your mastership and all your's.

"From Wilton."

3.—THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1549. May 31. "Fyrst, touching the conducte howse, Mr. Hynd can declare the state thereof in more ample wise at his coming, but yet, as he can declare also, we have made redy the pavours and all things necessary for the conduct head, so that at his returne we shall have brycks and lead redye for hym to begin the head and the vaute, and after that I doubte not to have water running in the base court, or at least within 3 foot where is best to make the mortar heapes, because the watee runnith there and the lyme below not far off.

8/ "As touching the number of men, whereas it was reaked that we had 400, we never had above 14 score (280), which being disposed abroad in many workes seem but few in sight, and yet the number nevertheless. We never had above 4 score and ten men at the top of the hill, and so I most humbly desyer you to declare unto my Lorde's grace, for I feare he thinketh the greatest number is here, and so peradventure look for much more work than is don. At the conduct have been 3 score men all this year. 40 men at the quarr at Wilton: 24 men hedging the bowndes. 18 at Tudworth, besides the Frenchmen, which have drawn above 300 ton of chalk and lyeth ready for carriage. 20 carts for hauling row, sand and water for the brickmakers. At the quarrs at Shalborne, Topnam Hill, and Westcombe 12 men trying for stone." Fears stone will be lacking for the Foundations, for the vi foot walls will drinke up much of the stone, and the vault of the conduit being made well nigh a thousand foot long will take much stuff.

"As touching the metall at Martens-hall hill; whereas I told my Lords Grace that the banks of Fescue his pitt fell down when he came to the *bur* of his metall, he is now cum to it againe and hathe fownd a stone wherein is metall as he saith, and hath as much tyme for the profe of the same as he demandyd at the first. But as for Mr. Hance asketh leysur to Midsomer, having 8 of our Devonshire men to his pit, and I think it he meaneth Midsomer come 12 months for before that he will never fynd none where he searchith: and for Mr. Foscew's stone I can find him a 1000 load of it within 6 foot of the ground where he diggeth six fathom, but I cannot cause him to come to see the places where, whatsoever the matter be.

"I have sent a wallet of stone to London, whereon I have written upon every stone where he grew."

"Men were also employed in the Isle of Purbeck, digging." (See Letter 5.)

4.—MR. JOHN BARWICK TO SIR JOHN THYNNE.

1549, June 4. Sends "a Note of all my Lord's Grace's Manors, Castells, forrests, chaces, parks and mills within his office of Receipt in the counties of Wiltes, Hampshire, Berks, and Gloucester.

"Further theys shal be to advertyse you that I have discharged Foscowe and Hannece the myners, and they have had for their charges and bordying, syns they came owte of London in Lent past vi£ with the xls. that I delyvered to them there at theyr comyng owt. Foscowe sayeth that he hath found a riche plott of grounde as eny is in Englonde. I wolde fayne have knowen sumthyng of his secresy, but he answeyrd me so resonably that I colde go no further with him. Which was that it was not mete for eny man to knowe it, unto suche tyme he had fyrst declarid the same hymselfe to my Lord's grace. He shewyd me a grey stone suche as be yn the felds and strete of Eston, wherein there's metall (as he saith). I have sent you a peece therof by this berer, lest he shuld shewe my lord's grace a contrary thing. And as to Hannece I thynk there be not a more dissembler yn Englonde, for he worketh too fondly as Mr. Comptroller can declare.

Further ye sent us downe such a lewde company of Frenchmen masons as I never sawe the lyke. I assure you they be the worst condicyoned people that ever I saw and the dronkenst; for they wyll drynke more in one day than three days wages wyll come to, and then lye lyke beasts on the flore not able to stonde. I have geven them dyvers warnyngs me self and yet never the better. And now I perceive by Bryan they be departid and stolen away lyke themselves, and be yndeptyd (*indebted*) to dyvers folkes yn theis parts; wherefore it were well don to punyshe them if they may be found; I think they will make their repayr to London.

Further, according my lord's grace's pleasure I have byn at Vasterne Park ⁽¹⁾ and there with moche worke I have put owt by estymacion 500 dere of all sorts into Braydon. It was not possible to devyde the bucks from the rascalls but one with the other. Whereof the most part were rascalls. And although we colde not get owte so maynye dere as we wolde, yet there wil be pasture ynough for my Lords grace's provysion, for the grounde was never so well beforehande yn grasse thys tyme of the yere as yt is nowe. And thus desyryng you to remember my sutes wherein I requyred Walron to move you I wyshe you no lesse helth with th'yncrease of wurshipp than your gentile harte desyrethe. Praying you that I may be most hartely commendyd unto my good lady your bedfellowe. From Estone the iijth of June. 1549.

Your most assuredly to command,

JOHN BERWICKE."

"To the right worshipfull Sir John Thynne, Knyght."

(1) Fasteerne Park, near Wootton Bassett: appears in the list of estates granted to the Protector.

5.—MR. ARTHUR ROODS TO SIR JOHN THYNNE. ABOUT PURBECK STONE.⁽¹⁾

1549 6 June. Thys shal be to advertyse y^r Mastershyppes after whatt sort the stone lyeth att Purbecke, and whatt order I have taken there. Fyrste in the south partt of the Iland, att a poyntt calyd Sayntt Aldomis from the wyche pointt ij myles towards the west end of the Ile lyeth the towyche (*touch*) stone yn ij shelffs endlonge towards the see very neer levell by estymacyon iij or iiij foote in length devyded with dyvers joyntts, some one stone iiij loads and many of them ij and iij loads apece and but one cownse of stones yn every shelffe: the bredth vii or viii fote, the thyknes betweene xij ynches and xv ynches, the nerest end of the shelff towards the land ys att the lo-water mark att refe tyed, so hytt cannot be broken butt att sprynge tyed.

The alabaster ys a myle and a halfe from the towyche, att th'est end of the Ile att a place calyd Worbarrowe, falen owtt of the wydest clyffe wyche ys 30 fadom hie, and lyeth att full see marke in rownde peecs of viii or ix towne a pece: the utter partts of them being of whyte alabaster and full of craks: wyche woll not ryse in breadth passing xij ynches square wyth a small thyknes; and inwards towards the myds of the pece ys ij other cowlors of stone, one somewhatt blaker then the other, much lyke unto a grey Marbull of the wyche I wyll brynge a sample unto my Lord's grace withyn thys vij dayes; wyche stone wyll ryse to iij fote in length and xviii ynchys in breydh and vi or viij ynches thyke, so thet I have sett 2 workmen upon brekyng of the same att soche tyme as they canott worke for the water upon the towyche that I have also appointed them to breke.—From Wolfhalle vi June.

Your humble sarvytour

ARTHUR ROODS.

To the right worshipfull
Syr John Thynne Knyght
att Brainford (*Brentford*.)

6.—BRYAN TESHE TO SIR JOHN THYNNE.

1549, June 7. My Lord's Grace's affayres proceed in as much haste as can be with so few men. As touching the quarr at Shalborn, whereas it showed very fair on the top we have serched the same and find it very little though the stuff be good the quantity is small, for which cause I am very sorry. At Topnam Hill the pitt is full of water again the wet wether hath been so much and the bankes be faln again of the diche upon Wylton Common wher the cley is about a vi. or vij lugges, and our men is uppon the same to amend it again whiles the quick frithe is green. At Tudworth

(1) This letter may be interesting to geologists: as some of the old Purbeck stone quarries, out of which so much stone used formerly to be obtained for church columns and monuments, are now filled up and scarcely known.

is about a 400 ton of chalke redy drawn. . . . The stone of Wylton quar doth mak very good lyme and entend to make another Lymekylne for that stone; and wheareas there is a great heap of dust made by means of the Rubbell which came out of the quar, the same will serve very well to mengle with the lyme in the fylling of the walls: for it is of itself very tough when it is beaten and tempered and much more it wyl be tough when the lyme doth helpe him to bynd. Thus doth the best of the stone make good ashelour, and the ragged will serve for the foundations and fylling stuff, and the Rubbell for lyme and the dust for rugh work, so that what so ever cost my Lorde's grace bestoweth there, it will quit the cost. The brickmaker hath set fyer upon his kylne already and by that tyme Mr. Hine cum he shall have brick enough for his conduit.

I most humbly desyer your mastership to send me by your letter worde what tyme you think my Lorde's Grace wyll cum for there is nither lime, sand nor stone carried nor scant any place redy for it. I wold make the more hast of that, as already I can make no more with these men I have, about the carriage and re-carriage of earth. Furthermore I would tayne know my lorde's grace's pleasure for the well in the base court, whether it is to be round or square, and how much *bur*. Thus desiring your Mastership to pardon the rudeness of my letter because I write in haste for if I be absent the tyme of the writing of this letter ther wyl be almost nothing done among the workmen, but yet I weed the loyterers out now so fast that the resydue be in fear of the same punishment. From my lord's graces works on the hill 7th June."

7. THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1549. June 14. "I have made inquisition for the mossy stone from whence it came and so far as I can learn it came from Shalborne Hill: yet some doth say it was fetched from Easton, but from Shalborne is the more likelihood, for that quar hath been serched to the bottom and so hath none of the resydew nor none in all the contreye and there is much stone hereabout which abydeth very well and semeth to come from thence, as the place where I had the same which I sent is builded with same stone, and as much thereof as lyeth 3 foot above the ground is mossy after that sort, and better, besydes that it is an end of a wall whose coynestones is of the same which is a good proof.

As touching the hard stone of Shalborne I have already written thereof: the quantity thereof is not so great as I wold it had been, and Arthur Rodes hath I understand declared before this the whole state thereof. It doth appear above to be very good stuff and to be store thereof, but it provith not so benethe, yet nevertheless I think there will be gathern enough for the ashLOUR under the grastable (?) for there is much of the same occupied in dyvers places hearabout, and though my Lord's Grace myndeth to make his utter (*outer*) walls thereof, I think it were better of flint;

for I am sure there will aryse above 500 load of flints out of the dykes and other places which come free-cost, and the charges for dygging of the other stone and the carriage, skapling and others, wyll be very great, and the flint cost very little.

As touching th'old stone (whearof your mastershippe hath written that I have written Borne Hill, I dyd but wryte Shalborn Hill), which is urne (*ours*) but therewith the carriage; the same is well seasoned and wyll abyde all wethers, and I can perceyve none of that quarr that ever fayled which came out of the bottom therof, where lyeth the best stone in every quar of this stone. In Burbage Church though the grete (*grit*) be sumwhat rougher than Wylton stone, yet as the nature of all these quarrs heare is, the lower the rougher grete, so is it lyk that the same stone which is in Burbage Church wall (where is abundance) to come out of the bottom of Shalbourn quarr, or els of Eston but whence so ever it came it abydeeth very well and gathereth a great moss and is I am sure of one of these quarrs.

The stone of Topnam ryseth yet as it was wont to do which is because the bottom of the pitt is so narrow that they wrest the stone in pieces and how it will prove when they work deep, I think as my Lord's grace thinketh therein: but if God send fayr wether, as hitherto we have none but always extremity of rayne, I will see th'uttermost of that quarr. The Frenchmen are well nigh xxxs in debt for beer, victuals and other borrowed money and are ix in number of them, and have receyved all their wages withen 4 or 5 days after 8 pence the workmen and 6 pence the labourers." . . .

"To the Rt Worshipful Sir John Thyn At Syon or elsewhere."

8.—THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1549. June 17. "Mr. Hind appointed a dicke to be cast at the place where the water of the trench did avoide and to run up the hill to serche uppon the very top. We have don so: and have found a goodly spring hable to fill a pipe of an inch over within a hundreth foot long and 6 foot deep, and we be like to have more. And I doubt not but and if the same and all th'other that cometh out of the trench wer congregat together, it wold mayntayne a pype of 2 inches over with as much water as is avoyd and by estimation it is a foot above the other.

The springs in the pitt at the trenches end is clenched but little or nothing will come from thence. It is drye and no spring is there more than that soketh through the ground on every side and wyll not fill xx gallons in 2 days at most.

The extremity of the weather is so much, and the slewth (*sluggishness*) of the people together, so that much work can not be done at so few men's hands: but whensoever my lord's grace cometh he shall perceive we have not been idle, the hindrances being considered.

"I besech ye to write unto Mr. Barwick that he kepe apoyntment with our men for the payments, or else shure our men will not aply ther works so well as els : for the poor men here do much complayn although they be prolonged but from Satterday to Monday next following, yet sumwhat it hyndereth and the poor men can not forbear, because they must take the advantage of the market, or els they can not live with their wages ; for when an ox selleth for xx nobles ther will but smal penyworths arise, and and when it is bought out of the market then it is worse. This do the poor men alledge unto me with such an exclamacion that I can do no lesse then write the same unto your mastership desyring that by your letters Mr. Barwyk may give his man a greater charge whos negligence is the cause of this rumour, and as I am shure unawares to Mr. Barwyk himselfe, and further than reason willeth me I will not yeld unto their complaints if extremity will serve, which yet always is not best to be showed, as knoweth the living God who preserve your Mastership for ever and ever."

9.—THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1549. 18 June. Has had no answer about the well and many other things, and is afraid to do them for fear of offending my Lord's Grace. Prays to have knowledge of my Lord's Grace's coming that he may make all things somewhat the more handsome.

10.—THE SAME TO THE SAME.

1549. 25 June. "It may please your mastership to understand that my Lord's Grace's works here do proced to effect with such expedition as it pleaseth God to permitt them : and whereas the court next the gate be apoynted to be rayсед on the lower syde and abayted on the upper syde the same wil be this night or to morrow by noon at a point and ready finished, and the houses about my Lord's Grace's lodgings, as according to apoyntment, digged round to the depth of 3 foot, so that the inner court being rayсед 4 foot ther remayneth 2 foot for the lights into the court to serve the 9 foot story. Also it may please your mastership further to understand that the gardin on the lower side of the house, where the ground did fall 7 foot, shall be, by the help of God which rulyth all things, rayсед to the height apoynted within thes xiiij dayes at most and made levell in all places. As touching *the conduit*, is a thousand six hundred foot long and the most part thereof 15 foot depe and tomorrow having all things prepared the rough layers shall be in to lay the vault which shall gather the water, to whom with the rest of my Lord's Grace's workmen in all places not forgetting your affaires the loving God send felicitous success. From my Lord's Grace's works the 25th of June.

BRYAN TESSER."

No IX.

Letters from William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, Master of the Wards, and Anne (Stanhope) widow of Protector Somerset, to Sir John Thynne: about the circumstances of her son, a minor.

1. WM. PAULET, MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER, TO SIR JOHN THYNNE, Dec. 1552.

"After right hartie comendacions you shall understand that I can not well growe to no end wth Mr. Chancellor of th'augmentacons for yong Mr. Seymor's lands till I may make perfect what he (*i.e.*, the PROTECTOR) had in possession A^o xxx^{do} Hen. 8 (1540)¹ and what thereof he sold before his attainder w^{ch} they require to have aproved by patents from the King by dedes of purchase of other men and by accompts for the contynuaunce of the possessions and receipt of the lands.

"And as touching the letters patents from the King and dedes of purchase and covenants, all other dothe appere amongst th evidence wth Mr. Chancellor, but some ther be lacking, w^{ch} is thought remayneth wth you; and specially the dedes of yo^r owne purchase of my lord w^{ch} I pray you send to me by some one of yo^r Servants that I may retourne you the same after they have been seen.

"And suche other patents covenants and grantes as you have in your keping of my lords purchase & the booke of accompte aproving what lands was in his hands yerelie after A^o xxxij, yf it may be, send unto me also. .

"And if you, Mr. Barwicke & Mr. Colthurste may come all iij wth dilligence you shall do the heire great service: and if you may not come all iij, come ij or one, bringyng with him the bookes and the sayings of the other ij under their hands.

"And yf it like you Mr. Colthurst to take the payne come to my house, and there you shall remayne for iij or iiij daies from the perrell of Campion's action, and yet in that case have yo^r ende I trust.

"In all w^{ch} matier I pray you showe yo^r selfe the child's great frinds nowe at his nede w^{ch} shal be better to him then C tymes som oth^r service another tyme.

"And retourne me this bringer ymediatlie out of delaye; for the matier must take his ende before the King go out of London. So fare you hartelie well. From London the xiith December 1552.

"I pray you mete together to consulte upon this mater & consider well the booke I send you herewth, and marke what faulte ye finde in the booke of the lands in

(1) In this year an Act of Parliament had been passed *entailing* the lands.

possession & of the lands sold: and of the lands demaunded for recompence: and lett me knowe if any thinge be omitted, or any other thinge leaſte unremembred, that you thinke worthe remembraunce or mention, and as you find, ſo certifie.

“And in any wiſe faile not to ſend th accompts, the bargynnes, the covenants, that ye have, to prove any of theſe things: and that, wth the dilligence you may. And yo^r letters be written alike word for word, as the one may underſtand what is written to the other; as the ſame may give you the better occaſion to meate.

“Yo^r loving frind

“WINCHESTER.

“To my loving frinde Sir John Thynne, Knight, in haist

“Rec^d from my lord Marquis Winchester

(Endorsed by Sir John Thynne) xvi December 1552.”

2. ANNE (STANHOPE), WIDOW OF PROTECTOR SOMERSET TO SIR JOHN THYNNE.⁽¹⁾

1553, Nov. 11. Synce yo^r beying with me, the Quene's highnes (*i.e.* Q. Mary) hath reſolved my Sonne to be reſtored in blood onely by parliament, and *meanith to make him Earl of Harford by creation, wherwith her highnes is bent to geve him ſuch lands as was my L. grace at the death of King Henry.*⁽²⁾ And for as moche as yo^r knowlege herein for learning what lands and manors my L. Grace held the ſame tyme, is more perfect then any others his officers; theſe ſhalbe ernestly to deſire yo^r to call to yo^r remembrance and peruſe yo^r books, that we may have your ernest help herein. I have already written to Mr. Barwicke and to Hanam for their accomts in the xxxviij yere of K. H. the viij, and likewise have I ſpoke with Gowche, Colthurst, and Seymo^r, the ſollicitor, to get what may be had at theire hands, but ſpecially whether my L. Grace had any lands twixt Michaelmas and the King's death, which appereth not in the account, no man can ſo well declare as you can. The Quenes highnes is

(1) Original Letters from this Lady are very rare.

(2) The Protector Somerset was attainted, not of treason, but of felony. This would not have affected his dignities, and entailed estates. But by an Act of Parliament, paſſed ſhortly after his death, all his titles and estates were declared forfeited to the crown. It therefore required a freſh creation to make his ſon Earl of Hertford. The Dukedom of Somerset remained forfeited until 1660, when, by another Act of Parliament, the Act of forfeiture was repealed.

In 5 and 6 Edw. vi., after the death of the Protector, ſeveral Acts of Parliament were paſſed, touching the limitations of his Estates. On the 12 January, 1553 [6 Edw. vi.], about a year after his death the Maſter of the Wards and Liveries made an appointment of the estates to the young ſon and his heirs male, in purſuance of the Acts 5 and 6, Edw. vi.

Queen Mary, in the firſt year of her Reign, with the advice of the Court of Wards, granted unto Ann (Stanhope), Duchesse of Somerset, widow, great part of the Wiltſhire Estate, among others, for the minority of Edw. Seymour, her ſon.

well pleased to let us have presently such lands as are in her grace's hands, but as yet though we have no full gyft of recompence for lands exchanged and don away, yet have we a promise therof at many theire hands. Thus praying your earnest and speedy help herein, with my comendacions to your Ladye, I bid ye most hartly ffarewell from London, this xiith of November, 1553.

I wolld gladly knowe that you have pasede welle your Jorneye, w^{ch} I dyd fere moche beyenge so weke as yow were at your gowenge from London.

Yowr lovyng frynd,

(Address.)

ANNE SOMERSET.

"To my loving frende,

"Syr Jhon Thyn, Knyte."

3. THE SAME TO THE SAME: ABOUT PURCHASING FOR HER SON THE LEASE OF BEDWYN TITHES.

1554. July 24. "After my hartye comendacions with lyke thanckes for that ye wrot unto me on my sonnes behalf concerning the tytyle of gevyng the benyfice, these shalbe to advertise you that forasmoche as presently the Lease of Bedwyn ys to be sold, and divers in the contrey earnest to buy the same; and agayne understanding how necessary the thyng ys for my sonnes house at Woolfall, I have thought good to prove such friendship as any waise I am able to mak to borow the money for a yere or two, according as the parties be able and willyng to spare yt. And herein amongst others yf you for your part might spare to send the somme of xl or C℥ towards the purchase hereof, you shold be repayde the same at such tyme as ye will appoynt. I could at the first have had yt for four hundred pounds, and syns so many do seke yt some by purchase and some by year, that with much a doo can I gett yt for 5 hundred pounds, and yet have I made great friendship therein. And so moch have I concluded to geve him, w^{ch} somme yf I can bryng him altogether afore Michaelmas I shall take the profetts of this yere. And therefore I pray you let me forthwith have answer what ye may do herein to th'end I myght go forward thereafter. Farther, If ye know any others about ye which beare so moch good wyll to me and my sonne as wold lend for any the tymes aforesayd or for half a yere, rather they fayll eyther £xx a pece or more according to theyre habyltye, looke what order ye take with them, God wyll, yt shalbe performed, and with thancks to you and them, and any requytall of such plesure as shall lye in my power. And so with my comendacions to my Lady Thynne I byd ye moste hartely farwell.

"From Shene this xxiiij of July 1554.

"As for myne owne state of lyvyng the Judges have grawnted me to chose eyther Joyntur or dower at myne electyon so that the stay of going through therwith restyth for lacke of th'attorney & sollycyters beyng at the Court where the one of them ys dayly looked for.

"Your asuryd loveng frynd

"ANNE SOMERSET."

(Address),

"To my veary Loving frend

"S John Thyne, Knyght."

No. X.

The following Paper contains the substance of several letters and documents relating to the Earl's affairs, too long for insertion. His claims had met with some opposition from certain parties, Lord Wentworth and others; and the time at which he presented to the Lord Treasurer the statement here compressed was in 1573, when he was about 35 years of age.

The Protector Somerset (then only Earl of Hertford) had in 32 Hen. VIII.

(1540) lands of <i>inheritance</i> of the yearly value of	... ..	£2400
His lands acquired by purchase, gift and increase of living from 1540 to 28th Jan. 1547 when K. Hen. 8 died—of the yearly value of...	£2000	5000
His purchases and increase of lands from 1547 until his own death, Jan. 1552—yearly	3000	
		£7400

The Earl says that *all* these ought to have descended to him: but there was taken from him in his minority (he being about 14 years of age, and in ward to the King) £5000 a year, viz: All that his Father had acquired between 28 H. 8 (1537)¹ and his death, 1552: leaving to him for living and inheritance, only such lands as his Father had been in possession of before and down to the year 1537. Also, that he was entitled to, and was to have received, recompense for certain lands parted with by his Father after 1547.

(1) In 28 H. VIII. (1537) an Act of Parliament had been passed for settling lands in Somersetshire and what other lands he might acquire upon the heirs male by Ann Stanhope: and in 32 H. VIII. (1540) another Act for entailing lands.

William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, Master of the Wards, was to estimate the recompense, and make it within one year. If he failed to do so, the now Earl of Hertford was, on coming of full age, to enter on so much of the lands taken from him as would amount to such recompense.

Sir John Thynne and other chief officers of the Protector happening to be at the time in the Tower, Winchester could not get full information; but acting on imperfect information decreed £753 14s. 3d. a year as recompense.

Afterwards, Winchester discovered that £81 a year more ought to have been awarded as recompense: and so assigned three manors to that amount, viz., North Perrott, Chillington and Southarpe, Co. Som.

The now Earl says that he contented himself with this arrangement. But Lord Wentworth and others disputed his rights. He defending them, discovered—1. That he ought to have had still larger recompense: 2. That he ought not to have paid certain Rents which he had been paying, about £400 a year.

Still, in order to put his claim to what he had got on a safe footing, and to prevent further disturbance, he prays that his Title may be confirmed.

He adds, "That this statement was delivered to my Lord Treasurer by Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor under their hands Termino Hillarii, Feb. 1573.

At the foot of one of the Papers the Earl has written:—

"Note.—This that I seek is but a feather of myne own goose: Whereas if I were ambitiously disposed, or to into the world as diverse would have done, I should have claimed restitution of the whole once meant me by Q. Mary contrary to me in Religion."

No. XI.

The Earl of Hertford's Statement (A.D. 1573) concerning the Fine of £15000 set upon him in the Star-chamber, for marrying Lady Katharine Grey.

(The fine originally fixed by the Star-Chamber upon the Earl of Hertford for marrying Lady K. Grey was £15000. Of this the Queen at once remitted £10000 before he was sent to the Tower. Of the remaining £5000, she insisted on receiving £1187, leaving £3813. Of this, £1000 more was remitted through the interference of Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary of State; bringing it down to £2813. It was at this stage of the affair, the Earl's lands being then under distraint for the amount, that the following letter was written to Secretary Walsingham, in 1573, the Earl being then about 35 years of age. Sir F. Walsingham got another £1000 taken off, leaving in

1579 a remnant of about £1813, for which certain manors continued to be distrained : but ultimately the whole of the remainder was remitted, and a copy of the Warrant of Release is at Longleat.)

[THE STATEMENT.]

“For Mr. Secretary Walsingham, who desired a Note of the somme already paid in.” (*Written on the margin of the original.*)

“The somme set upon me in the Star-chamber was fivetyne thousand pounds, my land never being distreined therfore, tyll a litle before my coming to the Tower. At what tyme her Majesty released ten thousand pounds of the fvyetyne thowsand. After, when I was at Tower, and made sute for the release of my poore Tenants pitifully distreined for the remain demaunded, w^h was fyve thowsand pownds, her Majesty sayd she would have one thowsand payd afore she would releaze any part of the sayd five thowsand pownds. Whereupon was payd in, one thowsand one hundred, fourscore and seven pounds (1187.) Shortly after, her Majesty cut off one thowsand pownds more. So as ther remaineth to be payd tow thowsand eight hundred and thirtyne pownds (£2813) which my trust is her Ma^{ty} will eyther wholly cut off or at the lest, the greatest part; if it may please her Ma^{ty} to remember the whole somme was first set but *for terror*, as also my humble retourne out of France upon the first cawll⁽¹⁾, my patient abiding her Ma^{ty}’s heavy displeasure in prison *ten years lacking one moneth*, my sondry grete losses in the sayd space, by my officers, and lastly, sithense her Ma^{ty}’s most happy favor restored, my diligent attendaunce and arredinesse these full six years to do any servise commaunded which I shall be more able to perfourme when I may find some frute of her Ma^{ty}’s favorable speaches and good opinion; her Ma^{ty}’s gracious dealing in this behaulf being more worth unto me then ten tymes the valew of the remain. Otherwise contrary to my owne disposition I shallbe enforced to leave her Ma^{ty}’s comfortable presence by renewing my sute of travel, wherby, in letting my land to most advantage, abating my maintenance, I may take order to pay my credite at home and at my retourne be able to serve her Ma^{ty}, whear now for want I can not shew my affectionate mind if her Ma^{ty} should any wayes employ me.

(*Endorsed*) “A Remembrance of the Earl of Hertford for Mr. Secretary Walsingham.”

(1) Hertford had married Lady Katharine in 1560. In 1561 Q. Elizabeth, not being yet aware of it, but seeing him about the court unsettled and strange in his mind, (as he might well be with such a secret on his mind) ordered him to travel abroad. The marriage being found out soon after his departure, Lady Katharine was sent to the Tower, and a message was sent to the Earl to return immediately. He made no attempt to escape or shirk his share of the consequences, but instantly recrossed the Channel, hastened to Court and boldly avowed himself her husband. This is the “return” to which he alludes. Hethen followed his wife to the Tower. (See Miss E. Cooper’s *Life of Lady Arabella Stuart*. I. 197.)

No. XII.

1. Edward Earl of Hertford, from prison, to the Lords of the Council.
(No date).¹

"Most honorabyll and my syngguler good Lordes: my dute w^t all humbylnes consyderyd. Wher as by the want of consyderacon of my most bownden dute I have fallen into the gret Indyngnacon and dysplesure of the quen's M^{te}, th offence beyng so yowthfull and unadvysed for want of hyre hyghnes lycence, as the felynge therof in myne owne brest hathe bene & ys ane uncurabyll gref unto me, I therfor my good lords knowynginge the most gentyll & well dysposyd naturs of yowe all, have bene so bould to request yowre favorabyll lycence to open myne afflyctyd mynd unto you; and do most humbly upon my knes acknowledge the gretnes of sayd faut & howe worthely I have deservyd all th enprysonment trobyll & dysplesure y^t I have receyvyd. Well consydering y^t althoughe I have never so good wyll & desyre to Recompence & Redrese the same, yet I aknowledge the faute to be suche that yt lyethe not in my power to do yt: therfor yeld I my self only to be under the quen's Ma^{te} gret mercy & perdon. Most humbly therfor my good lords styll upon my knes beseche your honors to be a meane unto hyre hyghnes to have pytty upon my pyttefull & very lyf, my lone & longe Inprysonment, my hevy & dolorous hart utterly helples without hyre sayd mercy grauntyd. I greve I sey the same withowt myne owne desert, hopyng to Receyve therby fyrst sum . . . lyberte of walk to Releve my self and contynewe my helthe, sum Repayre of sum of my poore frends to gyve me advyse howe further to humbyll my self with contynewall humbyll suts to hyre highnes, wherby she may withdrawe hyre hevy hand from my hevy tormented hart. Affyrmyng unto your lordshyps that there cane (*can*) no mane (*man*) Imagyne so humbyll and semely way of submyssion as I have a faythfull and obedyent hart Redy to yeld hyre Ma^{te} the same, & so wyll contynewe duryng my lyf with contynewall prayer to God for hyre longe prosperous Reyng over us & your lordshyps Incease of honor."

2.—LADY KATHARINE GREY TO HER HUSBAND. (*No date.*)²

"No small joye, my Deare Lorde, is it to me the comfortable understanding of your mayntayned helth. I crave of God to let you susteine, as I doute not but he wyll: you neyther I havynge any thinge in thys moste lamentabyll tyme so much to comforte

(1) Printed from the original rough draft found at Longleat.

(2) This letter, a few sentences of which being of a purely private kind I have withheld, is taken from a copy in the handwriting of Margaret Cavendish Harley, the celebrated Duchess of Portland, found among her papers at Longleat. The original letter is probably the one described as "Private and affectionate," among the "Duke of Northumberland's Papers Vol. III." [See 3rd Report of the Historical Commissioners. p. 47.]

by pytyfull absense each other wyth, as the hearing, the seaking and contynuanee thereof in us both. Though of late I have not byn well, yet now, I thank God, pretely well, and longe to be merry with you as you do to be with me. . . . I say no more but be you merry as I was heavy when you the third time came to the door and it was locked. Do you thynke I forget old fore-past matters? No surely I can not, but bear in memory far many more than you think for. I have good leisure so to do when I call to mind what a husband I have of you and my great hard fate to miss the vieweing of so good a one." (Then follows some indistinct pleasantry which seems to allude to "brats so fast one after another," and "with the blessed increase of children we shall all together be beggared.") "Now to her Grace, whose letter I send you here inclosed that you may see how kyndly she wryteth. . . . Thus most humbly thanking you, my sweet Lord, for your husbandly sending both to see how I do, and also for your money, I most loveingly bid you farewell: not forgetting my especyall thanks to you for your book which is no small jewel to me. I can very well read it, for as soon as I had it, I read it over even with my heart as well as with my eyes; by which token I once again bid you *Vale et semper salus* my good Ned.

Your most lovyng and faithful wyfe during lyfe,

KATHERYNE HARTFORD.

I pray my Lord be not jealous of a thing I shall desire you to do which is, to tell your Poet I think great unkindness in him for that I understand he should have come to me, but when he was wished, he groaned. . . . Well, yet though he would not come to me, I would have been glad to have seen him: but belike he maketh none account of me as his Mistress which I cannot but take unkindly at his hands."

No. XIII.

Account of the Bible used in the Tower by the Earl of Hertford and Lady Katharine Grey. Found at Longleat.

The little volume is described in the Title page, as "*LA SAINTE BIBLE, en François, à Lyon. Par Sebastien Honoré, 1558.*" At the top of the page is written the Seymour family motto, "*FOY POUR DEVOIR,*" and at foot "*E. HERTFORD,*" next to which is a signature "*W. WINGFIELD.*" The Earl had also written a Greek sentence, signifying, "In human affairs nothing is certain."

On the first fly-leaf at the end, in the Earl's writing, are the entries of the Births of their two sons in the Tower.

"Mon plus aîné filz Edouard Beauchamp fust né après le Midy du Jour Mercredy 24 du Septembre, 1561, un peu après les deux heures, un quart d'heure ou demy heure."

"Mon second Thomas Seymour fust né Jeudy-matin unziesme du Feburie, 1563, environ quart d'heure après les dix heures. Dieu leur donne sa gran Benediction paternelle. Amen."

Then follows a Prayer in French, in which allusion is made to the Queen's displeasure.

"Dieu tout puissant pere de toute consolation Que te mercie très humblement et très affectueusement de ta grande misericorde et bonté infinie qu'il t'a plu monstrier en l'endroit de ma femme et moy en la delivrant hors des grands dangers d'enfantement et de maladie. Aussy en nous envoyant à tous deux les benedictions des euvres des tes mains: te priant Seigneur Dieu, la consoler et fortifier en santé et patience: et aussy les petites creatures nos deux filz avec ta divine et chère protection et benediction. Par laquelle nous voyons bien que tu ne veux nous laisser l'âme desesperer de ta grande misericorde et bonté infinie; mais, comme pere, nous voul . . . faire cognaistre ton affection paternelle. Il te plaist encore nous chastier de tes verges pour mieux nous faire te recongnaistre et ta puissance absolue. Ainsy nous sçavons bien que c'est en ta seule puissance de rendre ton euvre de grace . . . en la fin du tour accomply et parfait. Pour à quoi parvenir nous te prions tres-humblement que comme il t'a pleu nous mettre en la mauvaise grace d' ELIZABETH nostre Reyne et maistresse; ainsi qu'il te plaist luy mettre en l'esprit ta vertu de douceur et clemence, qui es accoustumé de pardonner les fautes à tous ceux qui de bon cuer les reconnaissent. Vuielle donc regarder et pitier nous les dictes personnes ayant esté de longue maus (?) et estant encore batues des plusieurs tes verges. . . . Seigneur, autant ou plus rigoureuse que jamais comme de l'affliction d'esprit de . . . et de plusieurs autres calamités. Console nous donques selon que tu cognois que nous en avons besoing, et en nous faizant profiter tes chastimens à nre correction. Confirme nous en bonn patience, moderez ta rigueur selon ta sainte ordonnance, faiz que nous puissions jouir luy. . . ."

At p. 293, at the Text, Deut. xxi. 18, ["If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son," &c.,] is written on the margin,

"L'enfant arrogant et rebelle sera lapidé a la mort."

It is possible that this entry may have been made at a later period, with reference to the behaviour of his eldest son Edward, Lord Beauchamp, whose marriage against his father's approval, was the cause of much discomfort to the Earl.

No. XIV.

Letters from the Earl of Hertford to Sir John Thynne, about Wulfhall.

1.

1557, 22 Aug. From Hanworth, Co. Middlesex.

About his affairs, obtaining his "Office,"¹ and wants a friendly Jury, and to win the Feodary's favour, "Wherefore as I have my chief trust in you, so I pray you let not this, my furtherance, stick or quail for want of a little money: which, if God send me life, shall not be unrequited."

2.

1558, July 18. From Hanworth.

Proposes to spend a fortnight in the country, visiting four houses of friends in Wiltshire, and four in Somerset, in order to get the acquaintance of the gentlemen, Sir J. Thynne to name the houses. The rest of the time at Wulfhall to kill them some bucks; wants the loan of 100 marks for the journey.

3.

1561, July 7. From Paris "scribed in haste.", "When and in what sort I was of late assauted, Pile, I think, by this time, hath told you."

4.

1567. From Oldthropp (Althorpe, Sir John Spencer's).

Great abuses committed by your brother, (*i.e. brother-in-law*), Wroughton, in and about my Forest; and also his new device about the purlieu of my Lord of Pembroke whereby he justly procureth unto himself rather new displeasure and evill opinion at my hands than pardon and reconciliation for his former abuses and enormities. A breach between his father Berwick, and Button.

Wishes Thynne to effect a reconciliation between Mr. Berwick, "my cousin Wroughton" and Mr. Button.

5.

1568-9, Feb. 28. After my right hartie comendacions. Like as I have already requested you to take some paynes for me about the hanging reckonings at my house at Wolphall; even so, hearing by credible report, that the same my house is in way of utter ruine unlesse some speedie repaying be thought upon for the same; I have thought good to desire you now at your being there to consider thoroughly of the state thereof and so to make an estimate what stone, tymber, brick, lyme, sand, and such other necessities apperteyning to building will be nedefull for the reparation of the

(1) An "Office" is the legal name for an Inquisition as to lands forfeited by felony or treason.

same, and what somme the provision of the premisses with the chardges of the Artificer will amount unto. And thereuppon to certify me by your letters, praying likewis y^r farther advise what order I may take therein for my best husbandrie in that behalfe And so for this tyme leave you to God. From Oldthropp (Althorp) S^r John Spencer's house the last of February, 1568.

Y^r loving friend,

E. HERTFORD.

You have a proper tall gentelman with a red beard and a black hed. If he occupy the like place that the profession of his service hath heretofore tended unto, as a frend and one that knowes him

Paucis admoneo,

CAVE.

6

1569. Sept. 19. "Good Sir John Harty thanks for your sendings. These are to pray you to remember your haste of my platt: that thereafter I may provide for windowes and such things necessary. My tower is down. Easier it is you wyll say as truth to pull down then set up, but better is it and more safety when the tymber is rotten, to pull down lest it fall as that was altogether gon and the very iron of the windowes consumed in the middest.

"Have returned back your rogue with thanks. Also for him and by him a couple of pastyes of red deer according your desyre. Thus Harty comendacions to your Lady remembered. I leave you to God. In hast from Wollfhaull this 19 of Sept. 1569.

"Y^r loving frend,

"E. HERTFORD."

7

1569. Dec. 24.

"Emanuel"

"Sir Jo. Thyn. Harty comendacions remembered. I send you your desired case of daggs (*pistols*) with their furniture. They are good of proof double chardge as your man can tell you. I send you also a book dedicated to the Rebels as well and as pithily penned as I ever red any, wrytten per Thomas Norton my old scolemaster. I know you will lyke it very well, but the oftener you reade it the better. Our newes, thanked be God that the Rebels are fled, but the certainty is not yet known.

"The French newes are very good, for the Amirall is growen very strong, & in the night soudenly without noyse of drommes foyled diverse of the Kings power, the King himself hardly escaping by flight.

"Vale and comend me to your Lady. Wollfhaull this xxiiij hora decima 1569.

"Y. lov. fr.

"E. HERTFORD."

8

1573. 24th June. Invites Sir John to visit him at Wolfhall, and bring his Harper with him.

9

"Emanuel.

"For Sr Jo. Thin. These are to challenge you for not visiting me from Sarum. I now stand in need of your healp & in your absence of your man's—Lewes—about my middle garden house which whether be best to be in square, round, or cant order, I am doubtfull, therefore do reserve to your judgement, by letter and by him.

"I pray send by him the platt of my house devised by you & Omphrey Lovell Touching Tottenham Lodge, where you know the buttry was devised behind the kitchin I have altered & will have it under the hawle (the ground being digged 7 foot under for stowadge of my wine and beer.) And that which should have been the pastry (*i.e.*, *pantry*) shall be the butcher's office.

"I now send you Tanfild, both to see your new building and also with remembrance of your suit for him to your maid, with a letter here inclosed for your bedfellow, in his commendation. He hath gotten a new schoolmaster Mr. Powell by name, who is but haulf frend to all his old acquaintance, as your brother '*(i.e.*, *in law*)' Tom Wroughton will tell you. Powell far passeth Baynard the Justice.

"Your loving friend

"E. HERTFORD."

(On the margin)

"I send you verses writ as it is said by the Q. Ma^{tie} herself upon this late lewd rebellion. And thus God have us in his keeping. The Irish, praised be God, they say have lately ben overthrown.

"To my very Loving friend Sir John Thynne, Knight, give these."

10

1573. Aug. 27. "Having begun a Conigree (*rabbit-warren*) for the necessary provision of my house, I am driven to desyre the ayde of my neighbours and friends towards the storing thereof. And knowing you to have a Game of Conies I have thought good to desire of you as many couples of store conies as you may conveniently yield to me for the storing of the said Conigre.—From Wolfhall."

11

1573. 28th Oct. Asks what news about Henry Sidenham and his company being drowned in the sea waves.

12

1573. 20th Nov. Wants to know if Blagrove will let him have the Parsonage of Bedwyn, if his offer of good will when the Earl of H. first came to Wulfhall from Sir John Spencer's be not cold. "But if Totnam be summer frends as the Proverb sayeth, & then otherwise he doth determine to sell it, then you know what little cause we have to trust his heretofore pretended offers . . . I pray you write me also what you know of Seymour Castle in Wales, what tyme my grandfather sold it & to whom & for what pries."

13

QUEEN ELIZABETH HAS BEEN AT LONGLEAT.

1574. Oct. 11. "Thanks be to God Her Majesty is well returned with good health and greate liking her entertaynment in the West parts, and namely at your howse which twice sithence to myself, and the last Sonday to my lady's Grace she greatly commended." ["My Lady's Grace" was most likely Anne Stanhope, widow of the Protector.]

14

1574-5. 25th Jan. Has had an offer from Mr. Daniel, of Marlborough, "of his house at St. Margaret's, and all the land belonging, as also Patern House w^h is a great spoil to my wood in the forest—or w^d depart with Patern-house alone. (1)" Wants to know "which is the finest wood now in my hands or in reversion, my Lord's Grace" (i.e., his own father, the Protector) "made accompt of to reserve for his Building?"

15

SIR JOHN THYNNE'S GOOD ADVICE ABOUT WOODS.

"Touching the woods your Father meant to have had his timber for buildinge, you have none of them; for he meant to have had most of it out of the forest of Chute & Bradon & some out of the Broyll & other places therabouts: but your Lordship must now reserve your timber in all places so as you may have some part in one place and some in another as it may be to serve your turn. And to give order to Tutt that there be no trees any where sold that would serve either for long or short timber: it is a bad tree that will not serve for short timber, for if he would rise to 5 or 6 feet of short timber it would serve for some purpose & save the cutting of longer timber. Under the colour of scrubbes good timber may be sold: therefore give order to all your woodwards & those that have the doing with your

(1) Meaning perhaps "Puthall."

woods that no trees be solde, & then you shall be sure not to be deceived, or otherwise your under woodwards would please their friends and cut down your best trees under colour of scrubbess, as partly you had experience of in your forest."

16

22nd March. 1574-5. "Harty comendacions remembered. These are to desire your company sometime before Friday come sevenight for then I retourne toward the Court, God willing, before which tyme I would willingly speake with you. So for thys tyme I leave you to God the 22 of March 1574. From Ulphall determined to go to Awmsbury tomorrow but to be here again Thursday next.

"Comend me to your good lady."

"Your loving frend

"E. HERTFORD.

17

1574. 3rd Dec. From Ulphall. About Sharpham Park (near Glastonbury),
Maiden Bradley, Lady Compton's accident, &c.

18

1575. 29th March. About the Parsonage at Bedwyn, Mr. Newdigate, and
Mr. Blagrove. From Ulphall.

19.

1575. 29 March. From Ulphall.

One thing more now at my coming from the Court, Mr. Newdigate, with whom I talked concerning his help for bringing the Parsonage of Bedwyn into my hands, told me he w^d do what he could and excusing himself by an offer unto me at the first of the said parsonage (which he said I refused) sayeth the first cause of his misliking with you was for that being put in trust with the same by my Lord's Grace to my use, you, to convey yourself out of the Tower put it into old L. of Pembroke's hands: with much like stuff. I pray you, therefore, both answer, that fully and justly I may satisfy both myself and his allegations, and withall write your advise how I may best deale to recover the same again; you being well acquainted how Blagrove had it at Mr. Newdigat's hands, and how in my minority tyme to my use he bought it with money which he borrowed of my Tenants before he sold it to Mr. Blagrove.(1)

P.S.—[About Mr. Daniel's offer.]

(1) Some confusion arose after the Protector's death about the Prebend or Parsonage of Great Bedwyn, all of which had belonged to him. Part of it had subsequently been granted to the Dean and Canons of Windsor, and part exchanged with the Crown. It was then found out that there was some part that had neither been given to the Dean and Canons nor exchanged. This part was granted to Mr. Newdigate who sold it to Blagrove, from whom the Earl of Hertford after (as it seems) some trouble, ultimately purchased it.

It is but talk yet: wherefore before we draw to further resolution think what I may best spare . . . as you know his land (although barren) lieth so commodiously for me. I have heard the Duke my Father had great liking of it: if it weare so, I think you know the cause why he refused it: whether for not agreeing upon like valew (for neyther he nor I have, I take it, any land so bad) or through his untimely death that leaft many things unperformed.

20.

1575. 2 April. From Wulphall

Means to put Blagrave "*alias* Acteon," into Chancery.

For Daniel be sure we will deal as hardly as he shall, but if nothing els fall out he will be content to bargain for his house which is very noisom to my forest old trees.

No. XV.

Tottenham Lodge: The Household there in A.D. 1582. Letter from R. Smyth, the Chaplain, to the Earl of Hertford.

In December, 1581, Works were going on at Tottenham Lodge, under Thomas Langford, an agent. The Letters mention the construction of "The High Walk," "The Low Pond Walk," the stables, orchard, conduit-House.

In 1582—3, The Earl of Hertford was living at Tottenham Lodge, as appears from the next paper.

Totnam Lodge. *A Note of the names of the Ordinarie of Household there, vijth Januarie, 1582—3, viz. :—*

Mr. Robert Smyth

Robert Tutt

George Ludloe

Michaell Siddenham

Thomas Langford

Gilbert Prynne

Henry Rookes

John Hidden

Jack Lewes

Thomas Mondaye

George Bollinge

John Pledall

Thomas Davis

Smyth, keeper of the Parke

Thomas Gaskyn, slaughter-man

John Dowdinge, smyth

Tom Cooke

Henry Francis, Cooke's new boy

John Combes

Jack Hunton, a kitchen boy

Richard

Florrey

Herne

Hopkins

Bartholomew

Warren

} Groomes of your Lordship's
stable.

Thomas Westcott	John Connye
Davy Ricche, farrier	Connie's wyfe
Thomas Hewes, ale brewer	Connie's boy
Thomas Warren, ostringer (<i>i.e.</i> Falconer)	Jack, the Falconer's boy
Gilbert, the beer-brewer	Edmonds, Robert Tutt's man
Barnaby, the baker	James, Mr. Ludloe's boy
Cusse, the boy of the bakehouse	Southerne, Mr. Smith's boy.
Hugh, boy of the Warderobe	

Mr. Robert Smyth, at the head of the above List, was Tutor to the young Lord Beauchamp and his brother Thomas, and probably chaplain. Of his style of composition, the following specimten remains:—

R. Smyth to Edward E. of Hertford.

30 Jan. Bi this bearer (my singuler good Lord) I have sent two such as I could call to mynd, the one longer, the other shorter, more wold I have sent but that "*omnium rerum est satietas*," I feare theise be to much. The names of such boke are herein enclosed, as apperteine to such purpose. The argument of the first titled boke is; The Poete meaning to extoll the praise of Isotta dawghter to the prince of Ariminium and married to the Duke of Forence (*sic*) he feineth Jupiter to have bene ravished wyth her excellent beuty. His first epistle conteyneth Jupiter's wowing. The second Isotta her modest and matronlyke refusall. The third Jupiter's reply wherein "*precibusq minas regaliter addit*." But as appereth by the others folowing,

"Nil prece, nil pretio, nil valet ille minis."

For she told hyr husband who writeth to Mars to defend him from Jupiter's wrath. And Mars to Phœbus to take his parte. Jupiter wrytes it to Saturne, and Saturne to Luna to steale her away by night. Mercury calleth a counsel of the gods wherein yt ys determined that Pallas and Venus should be sent with this embasage; That Sigismunde should enjoye Isolta peaceably as long as she ys mortall and after Jupiter to have her when she is immortall. The peace being thus concluded Luna and Juno gratulate the Erth for joy of the peace concluded.

What story was ment that I told whether of Cephalus or Procris or Hippomanes and Attalanta or Linceus and Hipermnestra, I know not. If I misse the title of the boke of Questions, theise are some of theime. A lady loving two at a banquet she toke from one a garland and put yt on her heade: to the other she gave a garland which before she had upon her head. The question ys, whether (of the two) she loved better. Another, whether yt be better for a woman to marry a wyse man, a stronge man, or a riche man.

Another, whether the lover is more passioned in presence or in absence. Thus, with "*Jucundum est amare si cures ne quid insit amari*," I take my leave.—Wolphall, 30 January.

Y^{or} L. most bounden and humble,

R. SMYTH.

No. XVI.

Mr. Robert Tutt's Letter to the Earl of Hertford, describing Q. Elizabeth's kindness to his Two Sons.

[The second person in the Household List, Mr. Robert Tutt, had also charge of the two young gentlemen, and attended them when on a visit to Q. Elizabeth at Hanworth, Middlesex, from which house Mr. Tutt thus writes to the Earl at 'Totnam Lodge.']

8/ 10 June. 1542. "My humble duetie unto your honour remembered. It may please the same to be advertised that Her Grace remayneth still troubled with the cough which with her age maketh her feble and weak. Her Grace will not desire your Lp retorne, but yet I know, willing enough to see your L. here; neyther request a Buck, but will take more[in] thankfull part one Buck voluntarily sent, especially at this tyme of the yere, than a leash hereafter. And although your L^p dothe conceyve, that it is no meat for Her Grace being as she is, yet to have it in her house and to pleasure her neighbours and friends with venison at this tyme of the yere, it is no small pleasure. Those pinates⁽¹⁾ whereof your L. maketh mention, Her Grace receyveth to ripen the flewme. Touching my Lord Beauchamp and Mr. Thomas, they continue for their dispositions after one sort. They have read my fellow Smith's last letters in Latin, to Her Grace; and afterwards put the same into English to her Grace, as your Lp willed. With my L. Beauchamp Her Grace had speciall speeches, to what effect I know not, but without all doubt for his great good if he have a prepared mynde to follow grayve and sound counsels. Her Grace made him fetch his booke, entituled '*Regula vitae*,' & out o^f the same to read the Chapiters '*De veritate et mendaciis*.' Your L. shall do well in wonted manner to acknowledge her Grace's great care of them and their well doing.

Now if your L. hath any meaning that Her Grace shall visit Totnam this summer, then is it necessarie your honour acquaint my fellow Ludloe with your L. determination therin: that all necessities may be thought upon and provyded in tyme."

(1) Pinates: probably the same as "pinnonades" (Halliwell's Archaic Dict.) "a confection made chiefly of almonds and pines whence the name."

No. XVII.

Frances Howard, the Earl's second wife, to him. Queen Elizabeth's
Fall from her horse.

"Sweet Lorde, I thanke God moste humbly for your good helth and well doinge, and I most hartely desier hym to continue and increyse the sayme, and I thanke you for so sone sendeng to me for I was a lettell mallencoly for fere that you had not your helth, and I was sending my man Lennerd to you but you prevented me by your foutman who met me as I was comynge home waytynge on the Quene abrode; but a lyttell before we were all grettly afraed for that her Majestes horse in stombleng, feall withall, and she withall felle, but, as she says, she lepped of frome hym, but her foutman stode her in grate sted but thanks be to God she had nò kynde of harme and presently after she walkked a-fote halfe a myell. You may thynk what a ferefull sight it was: her Majeste wolde have riden on that horse agayne, but he wolde not suffer her to come on hys backe. She is very well, thanks be to God, and is determined to goe a Prograce in to Sussex, but whan she will begin it is not knowen. There is no more speache of her goynge to Wansted, and therefore you nede not stay the longer from hence but whan she will goe she sayth it shall be to Nonsuche, and there you shall have a loggyng for so my Lord Lomley hymself told me and assured me for he is now att the Courte & there is no tyme apoynted when she will remove but you shall be sure of a loggyng at Nonsuche." . . . your moste faythefull loving and obedente wife during lyfe

"FRANCES H.

"(Endorsed.) Rec^d. by Robert Footman, Monday 11th June 1582."

No. XVIII.

Message from Wm. Seymour (afterwards Marquis of Hertford) to Lady Arabella Stuart, suggesting the prudence of breaking off their proposed marriage. (*From the original rough draft.*)

"I am com from Mr. William Seymour wth a message to your La: w^{ch} was delevered unto me in y^e presence of this gent^l yo^r servant and therefore yo^r La: may be assured I will neither add nor diminish, but will truly relate unto you what he hath dyrected me to do, w^{ch} is thus: he hath seriously considered of the proceedings betwene yo^r La: and hymselfe, and doth well perceive, if he should go on therein, it would not onely prove exceeding prejudiciall to yo^r contentment, but extreame dangerous to hym, first in regard of the inequality of degrees betwene yo^r La: and hym, next, the King's Ma^{tie}'s pleasure and comandment to the contrary, w^{ch} neyther

yo^r La: or hymselfe did ever intend to neglect: he doth therefore humbly desier yo^r La:; since the proceeding that is past doth not tye him nor yo^r La: to any necessitie but that you may freely commit each other to your best fortunes, that you would be pleased to desist from your intended resolution concerning hym, who likewyse resolveth not to trouble you any more in this kind, not doubting but y^{or} La: may have one more fitter for your degree (he having alredy presumed too hygh) and hymselfe a meaner match with more security."

No. XIX.

Letter from Sir Wm. Monson to the E. of Salisbury about the capture of Lady Arabella Stuart. (1)

"Right Ho:

"S^r Edward Souche and S^r William Button aryved hear betwixt 7 and 8 a cloke in the morning; and according to your Lo: derecktion we ar readie to perform every pertyckuler: and for the more convenienty & spead we doe imbarke in the french barke wherein they where taken, & goeth with her to the North Foreland where we shall have choyce of keatches to put My Ladie and her servants in. And the barke with the passengers to ply up as convenient as they maye. And least the wind doe overblowe & hange westerly, as yt is licke to doe bothe, I have wryten to the officers of the Navye to hasten downe with all spead—the Light horsman to meet us at the east end of the Swale; and so to rowe dereckty up to London: but least yo^r Lo shuld not knowe the meaning of the Swale, yt is the eastermost part of Shepy whear we shall rowe betwixt the yland and the mayne: and so with the remembrance of my servis I humbly take my leave.

"Yo^r Lo: in all servis to be comanded.

"WILL: MONSON.

"There is no newes yett of the Charells: nor any other pertycullers touching Mr. Seamor.

(The Address)

"For his Matie^s servis.

"To the right ho: my especiall

"good Lo the Earle of

"Salsbury Lord Hoy Tresurer

"of Engdeland. hast: hast

"post hast

"hast: hast: hast.

"aboard the Adventure

"10 cloke forenoone.

"WILL: MONSON."

(1) Found among the Duchess of Portland's Collections, at Longleat.

[On the reverse, above and below the Seal, in three different hands,]

" at greenwych . . . afternoone.

" at C . . at . . past 3

" a cloke in the afternoone.

" Sittingborne at 6 in the afternoone.

" Rochester at 7 a clocke at night.

" Darford at past 9 a clocke at night."

No. XX.

Memorandum of Lady Arabella's clandestine marriage on the fly-leaf of
Mr. Hugh Crompton's Account Book, found at Longleat.

The 22th of June 1610

about 4 in the morninge

MY LA : was married at Greene-
wiche to Mr. WILLIAM

SEYMOUR.

Witnesses at the mariadge

Mrs. Byron

Mrs. Bradshawe ⁽¹⁾

Mr. Rodney

Mr. Kyrton

Mr. Blauge ⁽²⁾ the Minist^r

Mr. Reeves, &

Myselfe ⁽³⁾

The 8 of July Mr. Sey (*sic*)
was comytted to Tower.

The 9 of the same moneth

My La : to S^r Thos. Parrye's.

My la : Dunb. dyed 30th of
July being Wensday abowt
7 in the morning 1610.

My L: Kyn: the of July 1610 ⁽⁴⁾

(1) Her two female attendants.

(2) Blague.

(3) Mr. Hugh Crompton, her steward.

(4) Perhaps Lord Kinloss.

No. XXI.

William Seymour's Confession. The signature in his own handwriting.
(From Bodl. Libr. Tanner MSS. 75. fol. 353.)

"THE EXAMINATION OF WILLYAM SEMAR ESQ. BEFORE Y^r LT^s OF HIS MA^{TIES} PREVYE
COUNCELL THE 8TH OF JULY 1610.

"He confesseth that upon Fryday was fortnight he was maryed unto the La: Arbella at Greenw^h in the chamber of the sayd La: Arbella ther. That there was present one Blagew sonne to the Deane of Rochest^r who was the minister that maryed them; ther were also present one Edward Rodné, Crompton—gent: usher to the La: Arbella, Edward Kyrton, and Edward Reve, Mrs. Biron and Mrs. Bradshawe two servants to the La: Arbella. The maryadge was on the Fryday morninge before-sayd, betweene fouer and fyve of the clock, but without any Lycense as he confesseth.

"He saith he came to Greenw^h on the Thursday at night abowt twelffe of the clock, accompanied with the said Rodné and Kyrton and did sitt upp in the La: Arbella her chamber all the night untill they were maryed.

WILLIAM SEYMAURE."

No. XXII.

Letter from Wm. Seymour's grandfather, the Earl of Hertford, to him when abroad: and another from the same to the Earl of Salisbury.

Oct. 23, 1613. "Your former great offences which I neede not expresse aded to y^r. course of life, ever since you escaped over the seas, not a litle agrevated by your late wilfull repaire to Duncerke, contrary to his Majestie's pleasure, and my instructions sent you by your Tutor Pelling, (1) under pretence of feare of credito^r in Fraunce, would make any Grandfather hate the memorie of suche a nephew. (2) I had thought his Ma^{ties} gracious favour, that out of his princely compacion on your weeknes, drew from mee so greate an annall allowance, my care of your education from your cradle, & your dayly protestacion by Letters that you would amend all your errors, had ben enough to have with-held you from Duncerk or any other forbydden place, though it had ben with the losse of your liberty, or at leste drawn you for a time to Jeneva, where your religion could not be corrupted, rather then to indeavour

(1) Mr. Pelling, one of the Earl's Chaplains, had been sent over to Wm. Seymour about Nov. 1611.

(2) He was the Earl's grandson, but at that time grandsons were called nephews, from the Latin *nepos*.

payment of your debts by a worse meanes then they were incurred. These considerations make me feare though you are not corrupted in your religion, from which God I hope will deliver my family, that you are fallen from his grace and service without which you can never prosper, nor any naturall care of myne take good effect. You writ for payment of your debts and have prevayled with my worthy friend the Lord Imbassador Ledger (Edmunds) to write for increase of meanes, but do not consider how litle your ill government & profusse expense doth incourage mee to contynue that you have already. Is not £400 a yere from your aged Grandfather whose estate by debts and these like burthens stands more deeply ingaged then his life-time is like to free, an exceeding greate allowance? which notwithstanding, I have not long since paid to Langrett your Marchant in Paris, £100 for you whereof your letter makes noe mention. To conclude, I advise you in the feare of God, serve him, amende your course of life, be carefull not to do any thinge that may offend your gracious Soveraigne, to whome I wishe myself and all myne to be saints, though to God we cannot bee but sinners, live within your compasse, depend uppon the good advise and counsell of that worthy gent. the Lo. Imbasador to whome you are muche bounde, his good indevours & justification of your reformation may be greate means for you one day to kisse that Royall hand which may make you happie, and bee a comfort to my old age. Whereas by your relaps you shalbe sure to rewin your selfe and what in you lyes tumble my graye haire with sorrow to my grave. In this course uppon farther triall, I may be drawn to do for you what my meanes will give leave. And ever so prayinge God to blesse you with his Holy Spirite, I reste.

[At the foot of the above letter is the following rough draft of another letter relating to it.]

“My Lord; in these parts men saye, he that entertaynes beggars, provides for dayly guests, from which cause myne differs litell that incouraged by your love and kyndeness do perpetually trouble you. I have lately rec^d letters oute of Fraunce from my nephew William whose fayre promise of amendement hath gayned the favour of my good frinde S^r Thomas Edmonds the ledger (*‘ambassador’*) theare, my companion to the Archdukes, to write in his behalfe. Your Lp. knowes how much I was lately perplexed with his beinge at Dunkerk and what course I helde therein from which my worthy Lo: I know not the waye to vary, & have therefore made bould to sende these letters and my answeres to your Lp. that perusinge & approvinge my course therein they maye be sent accordinge to their directions for which I have taken order with this bearer: And ever so, &c.”

No. XXIII.

Warrant signed by K. Charles I., for the corpse of Robert Lord Beauchamp (son of Wm. Marquis of Hertford) to pass from London to Bedwyn, 23 Jan. 1645.

“CHARLES R.

“Charles by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith &c. To all our commanders, Governors Officers and Souldiers Maiors, Sheriifs, Justices of the Peace, Constables and other our Ministers and loving Subjects whom it may concerne Greeting. Our command is that at sight hereof ye permitt the Corps of the Lord Beauchamp (Sonne to the Lord Marquis Hertford) freely to pass all Guards and Scouts from London to Beding in Wiltshire where he is to be interd, and that ye permitt the gentlemen and others appointed to attend the same thither, in all thirteen persons, together with their coaches, Horses and necessaries, to accompany the corps without any lett or impediment, and afterwards to returne peaceably to London without any trouble or hinderance. Wherein ye may not faile. And for so doing this shal be every your sufficient warrant. Given at O^r Court at Oxford the 23th day of January 1645.

“By his Ma^{ies} Command,

“EDW. NICHOLAS.”

No. XXIV.

Receipt for the value of the Tapestry and Bed-room Furniture worked by Q. Jane Seymour.

[These articles had been given in 1647 by K. Charles I. to W^m. Marquis of Hertford, but in 1652, 3 years after the King's Death, the Commissioners for the Sale of the King's property, made the Marquis pay for them. A very interesting account of the dispersion of King Charles the 1st's magnificent collection of Plate, Jewels, Pictures, Tapestry, &c., is given in Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature* [1st Series. Vol. III., p. 383. The Catalogue of them forms a magnificent folio MS., being Harl. MS., 4898.]

“Whereas William Lord Marquess of Hertford hath caused the sum of sixty pounds to be paid unto the Treasurer for sale of the late King's goods in obedience to a former Order of this committee, which is a satisfaction for Five Pieces of Chequerd

hangings of a coarse making, having the Duke of Somerset's (*i.e.* Protector Somerset's) Arms in them, And one furniture of a Bed of Needlework with a chaise and cushions suitable thereunto, And are said to be wrought by the Queene the Lady Jane Seymaure with a gilt Bedsted thereto. All which things were delivered to the said Marquess by the late King's warrant dated A° 1647 at Hampton Court. These are therefore by virtue of two Acts of Parliament for Sale of the late King's goods in consideration of the money so payed as aforesaid, to acquit and discharge the said William Lord Marquess Hertford his Heyers and Successors of all and singular the said goods. In witness whereof we have here unto sett our hands and seales this 22th of March 1652.

"Somerset House."

"John Fooke,
"Ralph Grafton,
"Henry Creech,
"A. Mildmay.

No. XXV.

Letter from Mr. T. Gape, her Steward, to Frances (Devereux) Duchess of Somerset, widow of Wm. Seymour, Marquis of Hertford and Duke of Somerset, about the Funeral of her grandson, William 3rd Duke of Somerset at Bedwyn. Christmas, 1671.

E. (1)

"May it please your Grace

"We came safe with the Hearse to Reading the first night, having Col. Cooke's mourning Coach and himselfe, Sir John Elwes (Nephew to the Lady Seymour)² Mr. Wingfield the Herauld & myself therein, drawne by my Lord Marquesse of Worcesters (3) 6 Horses, having in all about 8 or 10 Horsemen attending the Hearse and Coach) we bayted not, nor so much as dranke by the way. The next morning betweene 5 and 6 we sett forth from Reading towards Hungerford, and came thither about 1 at noone, where the gentry of the Countrey, viz. Sir Francis Popham with his coach in mourning and sixe horses, & a Gentleman of his kindred with him (but Sir

(1) E. for "Emmanuel;" a common heading to Letters at that time.

(2) The Lady Seymour alluded to was Elizabeth daughter of William Lord Allington, wife of Charles Lord Seymour of Trowbridge.

(3) Mary Capel, the mother of the deceased William 3rd Duke, had remarried Henry, Marquis of Worcester, afterwards first Duke of Beaufort.

Francis was in a light greyish suite) Sir John Elwes of Barton, Mr. Giles Hungerford, Mr. Pleydall of Mugehill, Mr. Geoffrey Daniell, Mr. Goddard, Mr. Deane, Mr. Hungerford of Chisbury, and many others of lesser note, together with many of his late Grace's servants tenants, farmers, Bayliffs, & some others. After dinner we removed towards Bedwyn and came thither about 3 in the afternoone, and drove into the Church-yard the Coffin was covered with blacke velvett and a silver plate nayled on it, having an inscription in a plate of silver with his Grace's Titles of honor, a black velvett Cushion with a Ducall Coronett thereon. The Corps being taken out of the Hearse was carried by some of his Grace's servants; Sir Francis Popham, the two Sir John Elwes, Mr. Daniell, Mr. Giles Hungerford and Mr. Pleydall bearing up the Pall at the 4 corners and the middle part. The Chauncell was hung round with blacke Bayes having Escuteheons with his Grace's Coat-Armes pinned thereon. Mr. Charlett, Parson of Collingborne Ducis performed the Funerall Service, in the middle of which after the Corps was lett down into the grave, the Herauld rehearsed his Grace's Titles of Honour & Dignity. Col: Cooke was the Chiefe mourner. There was much rudenesse of the common people, amongst whome none suffered that I heare of, but my selfe, I having above a yard of the cloth of my long Black Cloake cutt or rent off in the crowd at my going into the Church. I lay that night at the great House at Bedwin, being now in the possession of S^r John Elwes of Barton (who married the widow of Mr. Duke Stonehouse). Col: Cooke, S^r John Elwes the younger, the Herauld, Mr. Thomas (who came into our company at Hungerford), the late Duke's & the Lord Marquess's Servants went that night to Marlborough: of whome I can give your Grace noe further information, save what I heare from Mr. Clotterbooke (who went with them thither) that Mr. Thomas hath displaced the Woodward of Collingbourne Woods, and putt his younger brother Alexander Thomas (who had runne out of his whole Estate, and left the Countrey for debt) into his place. And that Mr. Ryder (who makes all meanes imaginable to gett into my Lord Duke's Service) observed to Mr. Clotterbooke, how much money I had lost my Lady Marquesse, by my not agreeing with him in graunting wild Estates at our late Courts.

"I humbly beg your Grace's Pardon for this rude relation; beseech Almighty God to preserve your Grace in good health, with length of days here, and to send your Grace patience and comfort to beare this sad Loss, & Eternall happiness hereafter. This is now and ever shallbe the hearty prayer of Madame, your Grace's most dutifull & obedient Servant

"Ambrosbury. St. John's day, in Christmas 1671.

THO : GAPE.

"For her Grace the Lady Duchesse

"Dowager of Somersett at Essex house.

No. XXVI.

The Herald-painter's Bill at the Funeral of Frances (Devereux) widow of
Wm. 2nd Duke of Somerset. May 7, 1674.

MONEY LAYD OUT FOR THE ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCESS FRANCES DUCHESS OF SOMERSETT
HER GRACE INTERRED AT BEDWIN IN WILTS, MAY THE 7TH, ANNO 1674.

	£	s.	d.
Imprimis, for 3 Great Atcheivements of the Quartered Coates Baron & Femme, wrought in oyle with compartments of Gold Coronetts & Supporters, with Gilt Frames	15	0	0
Two dozen of Escucheons on rich Taffaty wrought with quartered Coates, impaled Baron & Femm. with Coronetts, & five gold and silver at 10s. the peece	12	0	0
Four dozen of Buckram Escucheons with party gold & silver at 3s. 6d.	8	8	0
Three dozen of the same in the mourning Room	6	6	0
One dozen more of the same in the Porch	2	2	0
Four dozen of paper escucheons on the Great stair-case, at 2/0	4	16	0
Three dozen of Buckram escucheons for the Hearse & Horses	4	4	0
One dozen of Shields for the Hearse, wrought with compartments, at 6/8d	4	0	0
Two dozen of Large Pendants for the adorning the Hearse at 3/4d	4	0	0
Five dozen of small pencills (1) for the Horses Bridles, at 12s the dozen	3	0	0
Six shaffrons (2) for the Horse Frontlets	0	15	0
3 dozen more of Buckram Escucheons for the Chapell and Country	6	6	0
For a large Pall of velvet edged with white sarsnett	5	0	0
Frames, nails &c : garnishing the House and black stands	2	4	8
	£81	16	8

(1) Pencills. Pennoncells, little flags placed in the plumes of feathers on the horse's head, and also fastened to their tails, as may be seen in the procession of Q. Elizabeth's Funeral in *Monumenta Vetusta*.

(2) Shaffrons, a corruption from the French word "chanfrein," the fore part of a horse's head. It means here the plumes of feathers placed there.



col. 1d: 74 + 24 = 98 pp.
+ Engl. front. + Engl. back.
p. 2

